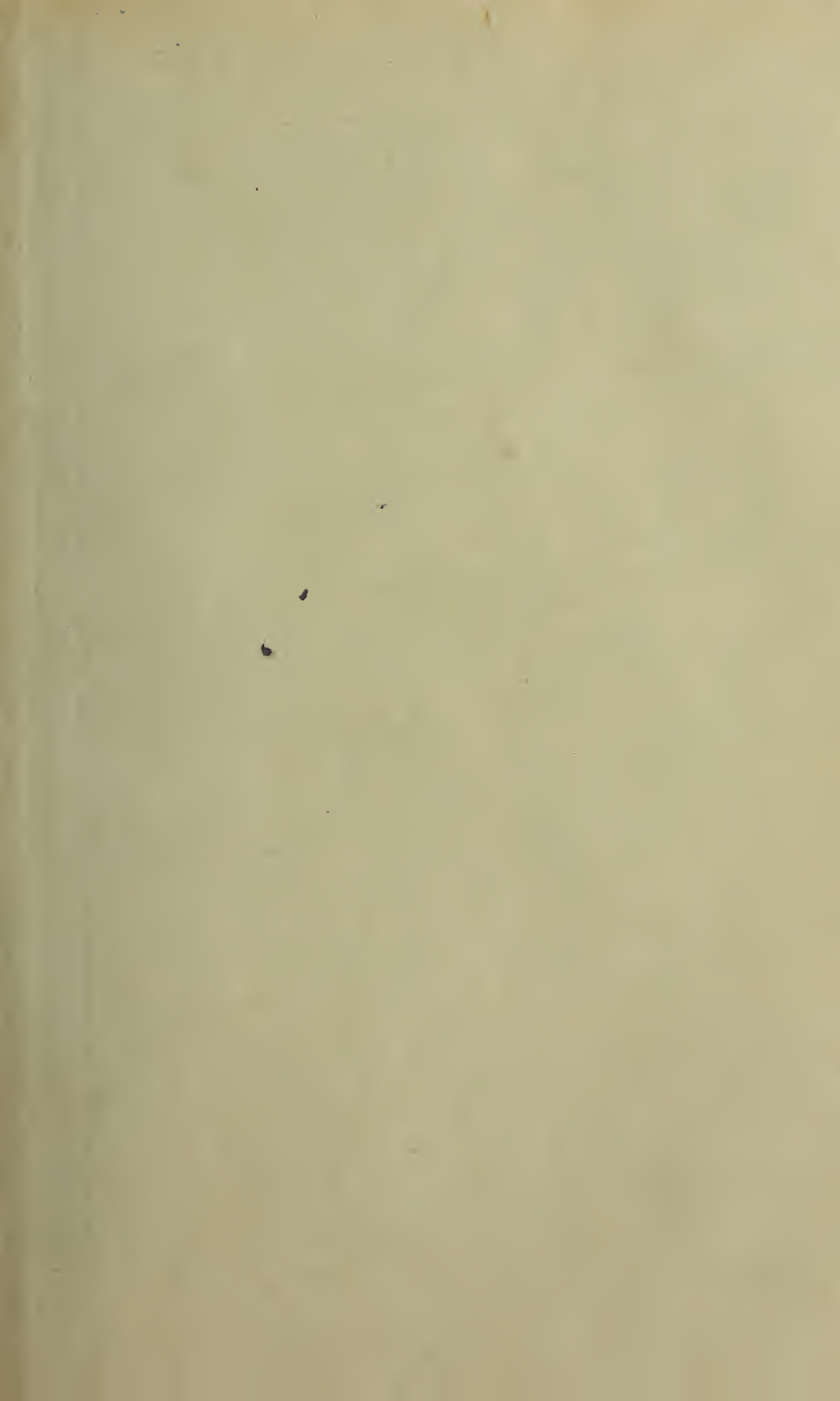


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EDITOR: ZOLTÁN HARASZTI

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# THE Boston Public Library QUARTERLY

JANUARY 1952

## The First Recognition of Antarctica

By EDOUARD A. STACKPOLE

FOR centuries the continent of Antarctica was the subject of mystery. Captain James Cook, of the British Navy, on his remarkable voyages of 1772-75, circumnavigated the great southern continent without sighting it, although he had reason to believe in its existence. "It is true, however," he wrote as of February 6, 1775, "that the greatest part of this southern continent (supposing there is one) must lie within the polar circle, where the sea is so pestered with ice that the land is thereby inaccessible. The risque one runs in exploring a coast, in these unknown and icy seas, is so very great, that I can be bold enough to say that no man will ever venture farther than I have done; and that the lands which may lie to the South will never be explored."<sup>1</sup>

The discovery of the Antarctic Continent has been credited to Admiral Charles Wilkes of the United States Exploring Expedition, and to Admiral Dumont D'Urville of the French Navy, both of whom approached the ice barrier of the new continent from different positions in January, 1840.<sup>2</sup> However, a few years ago American historians found that the real discovery probably occurred two decades earlier, when American sealers at the South Shetlands came upon a mountainous, snow-capped land to the south.

In 1940, Colonel Lawrence Martin, the Chief of the Division

of Maps in the Library of Congress, presented documentary evidence to prove that Captain Nathaniel Brown Palmer, an American sealing master of Stonington, Connecticut, had sighted Antarctica where its peninsula juts out toward the South Shetland Islands, five hundred miles south of Cape Horn.<sup>3</sup> The discovery was claimed to be as of November 1820, when Captain Palmer commanded the sloop *Hero*, one of the Stonington fleet of sealers. The section of the Antarctic peninsula then sighted has been called by a number of geographers "Palmer's Land," while the peninsula is now known as the Palmer Peninsula. The log book of the *Hero* is in the Library of Congress.

On the basis of the log of the Nantucket schooner *Huntress* — found by the present writer beneath the pasted clippings of an old scrapbook — a new claim is advanced here; namely that Christopher Burdick, Captain of the *Huntress*, was the first man to recognize the continent of Antarctica.

THE adventures of the American sealers are of extraordinary interest. Always seeking new rookeries, in a continual hunt for fur seals and sea elephants, these "nomads of the sea" sailed into unknown waters and made several important contributions to the geographical history of the world. With the growth of the trade with China of sealskins for silks and tea, the sealers boldly sailed their little craft from the Falklands into the uncharted nooks and crannies of Patagonia, rediscovered the Crozets, and visited Desolation Island, voyaged from the South American coast along the higher latitudes to New Zealand and Tasmania, and at last were among the first mariners to reach the newly-discovered South Shetlands — five hundred miles south of Cape Horn — in 1819.

The South Shetland Islands were accidentally discovered by Captain William Smith, an Englishman who was making regular commercial voyages from Buenos Aires around Cape Horn to Valparaiso. In the brig *Williams* Captain Smith, whose course had been laid far south of Cape Horn in an attempt to circumvent contrary gales, on February 19, 1819, sighted the islands and on the next day confirmed his discovery, although



he did not land. The South Shetlands are a chain of volcanic origin, lying about five hundred miles south of Cape Horn, between  $61^{\circ}$  and  $63^{\circ}$  South and  $53^{\circ}$  to  $63^{\circ}$  West. A strait fifty miles wide, filled with ice and made doubly treacherous by fog, separates them from the Palmer Peninsula.<sup>4</sup> Later, Lieutenant Edward Bransfield, of the British naval squadron in the Pacific, was commissioned to accompany Smith on another voyage to the South Shetlands from December 1819 to March 1820. An account of this exploration was composed by Dr. Adam Young, surgeon of the expedition, and printed in the *Edinburgh Philosophical Journal* of April 1821.

The report that there were seals in these islands immediately aroused the interest of both American and British sealers. William Herbert Hobbs, in his exhaustive study, "The Discoveries of Antarctica within the American Sector," states that Smith probably had secretly told British sealers at Buenos Aires of the whereabouts of the South Shetlands, and that the British *Espirito Santo* sailed from that port in October 1819.<sup>5</sup> The American brig *Hersilia*, Captain James P. Sheffield, which had sailed from Stonington, Connecticut, late in July 1819, is supposed to have spoken the *Espirito Santo* at the Falklands and arrived at the South Shetlands about the same time as the British craft — in November 1819. She returned to Stonington in July 1820. Next, a fleet of five vessels left Stonington harbor in the summer of 1820, and several other ports sent out craft as well. Just how many British ships there were is not known, but Captain Burdick in his journal speaks of the British being able to muster eighty men in case there was a pitched battle between the rival sealers.

The mountainous South Shetlands, covered with snow most of the year, where moss, lichen, and some straggling grass are the only growing things, were found to be a great haunt for sea elephants and fowl as well as seals. The desolate shores did contain several harbors for anchorage purposes, but they were dangerous due to sudden gales, drifting ice, and the great fogs which swept in from the unknown seas to the south. The curious phenomena of hot water springs at two harbors made these fog banks especially thick, adding greatly to the eerie appearance of the rocky shores and beaches.

CAPTAIN CHRISTOPHER BURDICK sailed the fifty-foot schooner *Huntress* out of Nantucket on August 4, 1820. Two weeks later he sighted Fayal in the Azores, and at five o'clock the next morning hove to off Pico. "Lowered away the boat and sint it on shore for vegetables. Tacking off and on for boats," he recorded. Continuing his voyage, he made the Cape Verdes on August 28, where he took a cargo of salt on board at the island of Boa Vista. His next passage was across the South Atlantic to the Falkland Islands; on the way (October 26) he spoke to the ship *President*, Captain Cottle, seventy-three days out from Nantucket, and "lowered away the boat and went on board."

On October 31, 1820, the *Huntress* arrived at the Falklands. Captain Burdick carefully noted his approach to the "Western Falkland Island," where, after sailing alongshore, he discovered an opening in the land which appeared to form a bay, with several small islands ahead. His careful seamanship is recorded as follows:

Wednesday, the 1 November [1820]

Begins with moderate Brezes and pleasant at  $\frac{1}{2}$  past 12 Being abreast of the opening Concluded to run in close in perceived plenty of kelp in the passage, sent the boat to examine and tacked off. The boat return<sup>d</sup> and reported 2 fathoms in pass & no roks & a Large Sound inside, whre and run in sent the Boat ahead & cros<sup>d</sup> the sound to the southward which was six miles wide & 10 fathoms water went in to a snug harbor at 5 P.M. anchored in 2 fathoms. So ends.

Wednesday, the 1 [continued]

. . . took one man with me and went on shore and went onto a hill about  $1\frac{1}{2}$  miles high. From it Could Count about fifty islands which formd the sound, the principal part. The smaller islands lay on the South of the sound, the Land I was to anchor under which I supposed to be the main island, proved to be one of those islands, it being very hazy I could not determine whether ther was any islands to the Southward and Westward of me. Got on board at 3 P.M. So Ends.

The Land to the North hindered getting the sun. Suppos<sup>d</sup> Lat.  $51^{\circ} 20$ .

Thursday, the 2 November

. . . All hands employed in Breaking out the hold and shifting

the salt room to get at the mainmast. Strong gales . . . At 11 the gale increasing the schr. hooked her anchor. Let go the small anchor, veered out, 25 & 50 on the other which brought the hawser to with 60 fathoms. At 12 it blew tremendous the schr. heeling well over . . . Let go the sheat anchor and veared out on him, and then I turned in.

All this time we were lying under the Lee of the Land —  $\frac{3}{4}$  mile off in less than 2 fathoms water and good holding ground and smooth, all except the wind had the water right up. At 6 P.M. moderate, took in Sheat anchor.

Friday the 3 November

. . . Got the fouryard and main Boom up for sheers hoisted our mainmast out of the step, Cut five feet off the heal & stepped it anew which brought the place sprung in the wake of the hardness. At 3 P.M. took a man with me on shore at 6 returned with 14 geese. Saw several seal around the shore in the water.

While in the Falklands, Captain Burdick sighted a small schooner off the mouth of the harbor. He hoisted his colors and, as the schooner ran into the passage, hailed her. "Asking her where from, she answered from West Point. I, thinking she was a-going to anchor, asked no more questions. She tacked soon after and went out without anything more passing between us and was soon out of sight behind the land . . . She sot no collours." Such were the mysterious visits of rival sealers.

That the Nantucket sealing master, then twenty-seven years old, had more than ordinary curiosity about the geography of his landfalls is evident from his entry at the Falklands:

Sunday the 5

Begins with Light [breezes] NW and pleasant. At 8 A.M. started with a Boat's Crew & rowed around the island to the southward and Eastward which I was to anchor under until I came out on the west side it blowing very fresh . . . and very ruff. I landed on a Large Island to the Southward of me and went onto a mountain to see what I could but the Clouds on the mountain hindered me from seeing. Returned to the vessel at 6 P.M. without being much wizer. So Ends this Day.

On November 22, 1820, he left the Falklands, heading for the South Shetlands, this time in company with the New Haven ship *Huron*, Captain Davis, and her shallop, or tender. On November 25 they sighted Staten Island, and Captain Burdick

took an observation so as to figure his variations. On November 30, he wrote:

Begins with moderate breezes and thick cloudy weather attended with snow at 6 P.M. thick fogg hove two being in coullered water. Latter part broken cloudy & a very thick haze to SSE. At 10 A.M. the water being very much disoullered sounded 150 fathoms — no bottom. Lat  $61^{\circ} 40$ .

The next day, December 1, 1820, at 4 p.m. the murky weather lifted a little and Captain Burdick made sail. At meridian he made his latitude out as being in  $62^{\circ} 7'$  South, and at that time sighted land to the southeast. In company with the *Huron* and her shallop he steered southward. On December 2 he lay to under the land, looking for a harbor. The fog came in so thickly that the larger craft sailed off the shore, leaving the shallop to search for a harbor. A northwest gale drove them to the eastward, but they were back in the vicinity of the land the next day searching for the shallop, which they found the following noon. The small craft had found a harbor. On December 8, Captain Burdick entered in his log:

... At 4 P.M. hauled our wind to Beat up the harbor in Co with ship *Huron* of New Haven and her shallop. Middle and Latter part brisk winds. Stood in to Yanky Sound and went into harbor came two at 6 A.M. in 16 fathoms. Landlocked found five Stonington vessels here. So ends sea account.

The five Stonington craft were the fleet commanded by Captain Benjamin Pendleton, consisting of the brig *Frederick*, Captain Pendleton; the brig *Hersilia*, Captain Sheffield; schooner *Hero*, Captain Nathaniel Brown Palmer; schooner *Freegift*, Captain Thomas Dundas; and schooner *Express*, Captain Ephraim Williams. This was only a portion of the sealing craft at the South Shetlands at this time, as there were an equal number of ships from other American ports and probably as many more British sealers. The harbor where the fleet lay, Yankee Harbor, was on the southeast coast of Greenwich Island. The business of sealing combined the work of shore-crews and boat-crews. When a herd was located on the rocky shore, a shore-crew was landed to surround and kill them. Then began the skinning operations, after which the sealskins were taken off



by the small boats. It is apparent from accounts left by the sealers, such as Captain Burdick's journal, that ship masters took turns in leading shore-crews and boat-crews.

**T**HE Nantucket and New Haven crews got to work quickly. Captain Burdick reports as of Saturday, December 9, 1820:

Begins with Brisk wind from NW. sent Mr. Coleman [first mate of the *Huntress*] and eight men on board the shallop . . . the ship sent twenty-two and 2 boats. At 10 A.M. the shallop went out to find a place to land the men for sealing. Latter part brisk gales and rainy. So Ends.

While Captain Burdick remained on board the *Huntress*, clearing out his hold and mending his sails, the shallop of the *Huron* hunted seals along the shores of Greenwich and Friesland Islands. On Wednesday, December 13, Captain Burdick noted:

Begins with moderate Breezes at NE and Pleasant. At 10 A.M. Capt. Davis and myself with seven men went up Yanky sound to the westward in a boat to see if we could See any place for seals. About 12 miles up the Sound which brought us out on the west side found a Scotch brigg to anchor. She had her men on shore on a Beech but there was no seal up. Found a passage out to the westward throug this Sound, followed it through with our boat it being full of rocks, found seals at 6 P.M. returned to our vessels with fifteen seals. The shallop not returned. So Ends.

It was at this time that the Stonington sealer *Clothier* was wrecked on the northwest shore of Friesland Island. The log of the *Huntress* records this as of Thursday, December 14, 1820:

Begins with moderate breezes and pleasant. A strange Boat came in which proved a Boat from Capt. Clark's fleet from Stonington and reported the loss of Captain Clark's ship the *Clothier* which run on a Rock in attempting to make a harbor about 15 miles to the westward of where we lay the rest of his fleet had harbored closely by the ship and was saving what they could. Latter part strong gale. So Ends.

Four days later, after weathering a northeast gale accompanied by snow, Captain Burdick made a cruise "around the island called Frezeland," to the south-southwest. On this occasion the Nantucket captain met Captain Johnson, of the schooner *Jane*

*Maria* of New York, one of the most adventurous of the sealing skippers and a man who was to lose his life several years later searching for the land which he expected to find southwest of the South Shetlands. Captain Burdick wrote of the meeting:

. . . Employed towing to windward to get around the Island. At 9 P.M. fell in with Capt. Johnson's fleet of New York from Raged Island looking for Yanky harbor this fleet consists of one Brigg two Schooners and shallop.

Captain Burdick found several large herds of seals at vantage points along the south coast of Friesland Island. He obtained 980 skins and also discovered that the Stonington craft had landed fifty men along a seven-mile stretch of shore. He returned to Yankee Harbor on December 22, 1820, and again met Captain Johnson and his fleet there. The latter had a total of 1600 skins, having arrived at the South Shetlands two months before the *Huntress*. On Christmas Day, Captain Burdick wrote the following in his log:

Begins with strong Gales at NE with Snow and hail. Me and the Boy busily engaged in scraping the ice from the cables & sides of the vessel. The NE side of our harbor is formed By And Iceburg from three to five hundred feet high from the surface of the water which Break off in flakes of 4 or 5 hundred tons with a report as Loud as a Cannon. These pieces of ice fall into the water and the wind drives them afoul of us which is very chafing. Latter part moderate. Employed in mending scrivits on the cables. So ends this Day.

In such a dangerous anchorage the *Huntress* lay with the sealing fleet, all with their anchors down, when a gale broke. On one occasion Captain Burdick records: "A large boat as big as two whaleboats which was hauled up on shore was Blown about 30 or 40 rods and stove to pieces." On January 9, 1821, Captain Davis of the *Huron*, who had "cruised as far to the northeast as the land extended but found no seal to speak of," returned with the shallop. The log of the *Huntress* reads under this date:

Captain Davis . . . fell in with an English ship and brigg that were castaway, took part of their crews and put them on board an English vessel lying at Ragged Island. Returned to where the men were stationed and brought in 2470 Skins. Took 696 on board being my part . . . So Ends this Day.

Sealing operations continued to be successful. The schooner returned with 627 skins on January 13, 1821. Captain Burdick took her along the coast of Friesland again on a cruise and obtained 981 more skins, but had a difficult time of it when a northeast snowstorm sprang up, followed by a "tremendous gale," forcing him to sail off shore, standing to the "southward and east on a wind . . . with a tremendous sea and perishing cold weather." With the gale increasing, on January 20, at 4 a.m., he sighted President Island, the next island southeast of Friesland, about three miles ahead. He recorded:

The gale still increasing, took in the mainsail, whore around and ran between President Island and Frezeland, among a parcel of ledges and hauled round between Ragged Island and Frezeland and anchored in 7 fathoms with both anchors.

The vagaries of South Shetland weather were characteristic of the Antarctic Sea. Upon his return to Yankee Harbor two days later, Captain Burdick remarked that, the wind having fallen away to a calm, he had to lower the boat to tow the shallop into the anchorage.

Some of the most interesting entries in the log now appear:

Tuesday the 25 [January 1821]

. . . A Boat came in belonging to Captain Barnard of Nantucket in Brig *Charity* having been robbed of eighty skins by the English at Sheriffs Cape and drove off the beach. 4 P.M. our Boat come in from a cruise with 52 skins having likewise been drove from the beach at Sheriffs Cove by the English where he said there was plenty of seal. The muskets of all the vessels in the harbor being nine in number and all Americans being notified of the Same all repaired on board ship *Huron*, Capt. Davis, to Consult about what to be done Where we all agreed as one to Muster all our men from our Several Camps and as one body to go on to said beach at Sheriffs Cape and take seal by Fair means if we could but at all Events to take them. So Ends.

Friday, the 26

. . . At 6 A.M. Capt. Bruno of the schooner *Henry* started in a Boat with the First officer of the schr. *Expres* with a circular Letter signed by all the masters to their Respective officers at their Camps to muster all their men save a man at Each Camp and with their Boat to Repair amediately under the guidance of Capt. Bruno to a Small Bay not far from Sheriffs Cape where Capt. Davis and

Capt. Barnard would meet them in the shallop with 5 boats and 33 men . . . the residue of the men from the harbor at 8 P.M.

Capt. Davis and Capt. Barnard started in the shallop they met at the place appointed 120 men, they would have to land and by the best information we can get the English have but about 80 men there. So Ends.

The expected battle between the rival sealers could not have taken place, as Captain Burdick makes no further mention of the subject. It is probable that the British sealers, seeing the large group of Americans determined on using the rookeries, with laudable discretion quietly withdrew.

ON the next day, the Nantucket skipper made an important entry in his log. He made no further reference to the impending fight between British and American sealers; in fact, he completely ignored the exciting record of the day before. What he did write is significant of where his true interests lay — in the possibility of discovering new rookeries on land heretofore not visited by other sealers. He records as follows:

Saturday, the 27

. . . Capt. Johnson came in in shallop from a cruise of 22 days — said he had been to the Lat 66° S and the Long. of 70° West and still found what he first took to be Land but appeared to be nothing but solid islands of Ice and Snow. Whether he had found any seal he did not inform nor otherwise than then to say there was none so far South as he had been.

This was a very definite report and Captain Burdick promptly took it into account. The next day he observed that the "Stonington shallops" had returned after a cruise of fourteen days to the northward and eastward and had seen no seals. Thus, two possible locations were eliminated. When Captain Davis returned a few days later from a cruise to the westward and brought back 1720 skins, it took care of the shore in that direction. There was only one compass direction left towards which Captain Burdick might sail — south by west, into the unknown seas. This direction he followed two days later.

In the interim he went with several other ship masters to attend the auction of articles from the wreck of the *Clothier* at







the place called "Clothier Harbor." On February 1, 1821, he met two well-known sealers here — Captain Winship of Boston, who had come down on the *O'Cain* three months before, and "Capt. Smith, the man that Discovered this Land first. He had two vessels and 60 men and had got 45,000 skins." Their talk was not recorded, but it may be assumed that Captain Burdick asked many questions of Captain Smith.

On February 12, 1821, Captain Burdick sailed "southward and westward." "Light Brezes and Calm, trying to get to the Southward," he entered the first day. Cruising along the southern coast of Friesland Island, he took his first officer, Mr. Coleman, off the bleak shore. The next day, sailing west along-shore, they found a rookery and collected 446 skins between them. Later that day he "stood to the southward." On the 15th of the month he continued south-southwest. His log book records the sighting of Antarctica:

Begins with Light airs and variable with Calms pleasant wether at meridiem Lat by obs. 63 . . 17 S President Island Bearing North 3 Leagues mount Pisco SW b W dist 7 Leagues the Peak of Freze-land NE  $\frac{1}{2}$  E 11 Leagues Deception Island NE by N 8 Leagues and a small Low Island SSW 6 Leagues to which I am bound and Land from South to ESE which I suppose to be a Continent. Later part fresh breze at North. At 6 P. M. came to anchor under Low island among a parcel of rocks Sent the Boat on shore She returned with 22 Seal So ends thes 24 hours.

The mere fact that Captain Burdick laconically announces sighting "land from South to ESE which I suppose to be a Continent" reveals that he had sailed the *Huntress* to a position off Hoseason Island where it was easily possible for him to sight the black, rocky, and precipitous shore of the Antarctic Continent with its great, snowy mountain-plateau stretching for miles away.

The atmospheric conditions favored long-range observation and tended to shorten distances. Burdick mentions sighting Friesland Island more than thirty miles away to the northeast, but it is probable that the peak of Friesland was much further off, thus placing the continent of Antarctica — twenty miles away — clearly in view. Furthermore, he continued his cruise south for several hours, anchoring at 6 p.m. at an island, some

twenty miles from the Continental shore across Der Gerlache Strait. He remained in the vicinity two days, going ashore on both sides of the island and getting seal skins. It was not until February 19 that he returned to Yankee Harbor.

Under these circumstances, it is fair to assume that the Nantucket sealer had no reason to doubt the existence of a Continent across the channel from his anchorage. He not only had a long period in which to observe, but he gives bearings which enable one to trace his five-day cruise. Most important of all is the record of the log itself: "Land from South to ESE which I suppose to be a Continent."

On the following day Captain Burdick continued:

Friday the 16

Begins with moderate Breezes at NE Got all the men on shore to take seal drove up four hundred and knocked them Down. The wind shifting in to the SW which making a bad harbor where [we] lay took 8 men on board and got under way and shifted her round on the NE side and anchored and at 8 P.M. we had got 400 skins on Board. So Ends these 24 hours.

Saturday the 17

Begins with fresh breezes at NE and thick whether. Sent the Boat on shore . . . returned with 30 skins. It Blowing a hard gale right into the harbor we lay in hoisted in the Boat and got underway and Beat out after clearing the Land. Double reef<sup>d</sup> the sail and stood to Northward. So Ends with hard gale and thick snow.

Sunday the 18

. . . Made President Island bearing NE stood close in with it and tacked off to Southward at 4 P.M. more moderate wind canting to South, tacked and steered ENE at 8 made Deception Island. Middle and Latter part Light wind making the best of our way for Yanky harbor.

Wednesday the 28

. . . Capt. Inott of the ship *Samuel* from Nantucket came into our harbor . . . brought me a package of letters.

Captain Burdick sailed for home on March 11, and arrived June 10.

**T**HE log-book entry in the cruise of the sloop *Hero*, which Colonel Martin believes substantiates Captain Nathaniel Palmer's claim to the discovery of Antarctica, is as follows:



Friday November 17th [1826]

These 24 hours commences with fresh Breeses from SWest and Pleasant at 8 P M. got over under the land found the sea filled with imense Ice Bergs at 12 hove Too under the Jib Laid off & on until morning — at 4 A M made sail in shore and discovered — a strait — Trending SSW & NNE — it was Literally filled with Ice and the shore inaccessible we thought it not Prudent to Venture in ice Bore away to the Northerd & saw 2 small Islands and the shore every where Perpendicular we stood across towards friesland [Friesland or Smith's or Livingston Island] Course NNW — the Latditude of the mouth of the strait was 63-45 S Ends with fine weather wind at SSW.

The island sighted by Palmer and thought by Martin to be Trinity Island is forty miles from the nearest South Shetlands. The strait which he mentions as being filled with floating ice is claimed by Colonel Martin to be Orleans Channel, which lies between the continental mainland of Antarctica and Trinity Island; but it is evident that Captain Palmer did not sail into it. Although Colonel Martin thinks that "it is not clear whether it was the coast of the mainland or the shore of these islands that was considered to be perpendicular," the present writer believes that Palmer had the precipitous shores of Tower and Trinity Islands in mind.

H. R. Mill, the eminent British authority, writing in his *The Siege of the South Pole*, believes that Palmer actually saw the littoral around Anvers Island, as did, a decade later, Captain John Biscoe.<sup>6</sup> Certain it is that "Palmer's Land" was for years attached to an island archipelago, as the many maps cited by William H. Hobbs indicate.<sup>7</sup>

The subsequent voyages of the *Hero* in January 1821 were uneventful. There is no record of a trip south along Palmer Peninsula as far as Marguerite Bay. Captain Palmer is alleged to have made this important exploration, but the claim was made long afterwards, and his log-book entries make no mention of the land.

J. N. Reynolds, in a Congressional Report of 1828, stated that Captain Benjamin Pendleton "discovered a bay, clear of ice, into which he run for a great distance, but did not ascertain its full extent south."<sup>8</sup> And Captain Edmund Fanning, in his *Voyages*, published first in 1833, credits Pendleton with the ac-

tual discovery of Antarctica, declaring that he sighted it first from the peak of Deception Island.<sup>9</sup> According to Fanning, Captain Palmer was sent by Pendleton, who was in command of the Stonington fleet, to investigate the land. Unquestionably he was so dispatched, but his object was to hunt for seals; his log book on November 1820 reveals no suspicion that he had seen the great southern polar continent, if he did actually observe the land mass at all. He merely describes the discovery of a "strait." Fanning's account of the meeting between Captain Palmer and the Russian Vice-Admiral Thaddeus von Bellingshausen in January 1821, when the Russian explorer was in the South Shetlands,<sup>10</sup> is disappointing. The translation of the Russian navigator's account<sup>11</sup> does not contain the story of the American mariner; nor does it bear any resemblance to the elaborate version given by Captain Palmer's niece, Mrs. Richard Fanning Loper, in 1907,<sup>12</sup> or to that of J. R. Spears a few years later.<sup>13</sup> Palmer's joint voyage with Captain Powell, the British sealer, to the South Orkneys in 1821 is a much more conclusive exploration.

Dumont d'Urville, the French Admiral, sighted and named the northeast end of Orleans Channel in 1838. Eduard Dallmann, on his voyage of 1874, merely gave it a cursory examination.<sup>14</sup> Both were prevented from exploring the channel by the presence of the ice-fields and a heavy fog which shrouded the entire area constantly. The Belgian Expedition of 1898-99 further explored the coast; and in 1912 the French Hydrographic Office brought out a map of the South Shetlands showing the results of Charcot's explorations in 1903-05 and 1908-09.<sup>15</sup>

The British base their claim to the Palmer Peninsula, which they call Graham Land, on the voyage of Captain Biscoe, in the brig *Tula*, in 1831-32, as "communicated by Messrs Enderby in 1833." This was a truly magnificent Antarctic circumnavigation. But Biscoe did not even venture as close to the land as did the sealers. The British mariner refers to land sighted as "Palmer's Land," thus revealing a contact with sealers, and Mill states that "As a matter of historic justice, it seems to us that Powell's name of Palmer Land ought to be retained for the whole group of islands, and possible continental peninsula south of the South Shetlands."<sup>16</sup>

Captain Burdick made two more voyages to the South Shetlands, and then sold the *Huntress* and purchased larger craft for the coasting trade between Nantucket and mainland ports.

(In connection with the publication of this article, an exhibit of rare maps, atlases, and accounts of famous voyages has been arranged in the Treasure Room of the Library.)

## Notes

1. James Cook, *A Voyage towards the South Pole, and round the World*, London 1777, 231.
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3. Lawrence Martin, "Antarctica Discovered by a Connecticut Yankee, Captain Nathaniel Brown Palmer," *Geographical Review*, XXX (October 1940), 529-52.
4. J. Miers, "Account of the Discovery of New South Shetland," *Edinburgh Philosophical Journal*, III (1820), 367-80.
5. William Herbert Hobbs, "The Discoveries of Antarctica within the American Sector," *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society*, XXXI (1939), 8-71.
6. Hugh R. Mill, *The Siege of the South Pole*, New York 1905, 161-2.
7. Hobbs, *op. cit.*
8. J. N. Reynolds; Report to the Secretary of the Navy, September 24, 1828, 23rd Congress 2nd Session, House Document 105, 1835, 26-7.
9. Edmund Fanning, *Voyages & Discoveries in the South Seas, 1792-1832*, Salem 1924, 306-9.
10. *Ibid.*, 307-9.
11. *The Voyage of Captain Bellingshausen to the Antarctic Seas, 1819-21*, Frank Debenham, ed., London 1945, xxv-xxvi, 425-6.
12. Mrs. Richard Fanning Loper, article in the *New London Globe*, January 28, 1907.
13. J. R. Spears, *Captain Nathaniel Brown Palmer*, New York 1922.
14. A. Schück, "Entwicklung unserer Kenntniss der Länder im Süden von America," *Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Geographie*, VI, 242-64.
15. Jean Charcot, *The Voyage of the "Why Not?" in the Antarctic*, New York, London [1911].
16. Mill, *op. cit.*, 162.

# The Life of St. Augustine in Pictures

By ELLEN M. OLDHAM

A VALUABLE addition to the Library's collection of medieval manuscripts is a *Vita S. Augustini* written and illustrated about 1460 in Germany, probably at Augsburg. It is a volume consisting of fifty-four leaves of paper, measuring  $11\frac{1}{4}$  by  $7\frac{3}{4}$  inches. The narrative is divided into one hundred and twenty-four "chapters" of five or six lines apiece, each illustrated by a picture painted in water colors. The pictures are five inches in width; their height varies from three to five and a half inches. Four leaves are missing, with the consequent loss of chapters one to four and twenty-two to twenty-five. The original boards, backed with leather, have been preserved. A note written by a Brother Joannes in 1591 shows that the book once belonged to a house of the Hermits of St. Augustine.

The principal interest of the volume lies in the fact that it represents a popularization of book making, due to the use of cursive script and rapid pen drawing instead of a formal hand and the elaborate work of miniaturists. Because less care was taken of them, such works have disappeared, worn out from sheer use. But for a time, after the introduction of rag paper, they were common. Most surviving copies come from Germany, and were produced in secular rather than monastic workshops. It would be interesting to know whether the Library's volume was originally owned by a layman and only later reached a monastery, or was from the first in the possession of a religious establishment.

The popular manuscripts are undoubtedly related to the early block-books, intended for a similar clientele. Though pen-drawing and wood-engraving were separate art forms, the two exercised a profound influence on each other. Sequences of illustration have been preserved showing that woodcutters took over the forms of representation introduced by draughtsmen, while after 1460, in the region of Augsburg at least, the pen-and-ink sketches show a technique closely related to the an-



gularity natural to the use of wood-cutting tools. The drawings in the Library's manuscript possess these characteristics. Possibly they even had an engraved prototype. One illustration shows a group of soldiers carrying the bier of St. Augustine into Pavia — but the head of the important character does not appear; it has been cut off by the left-hand upright of the frame! If deliberate, this would be a curious touch for a fifteenth-century artist, working in the normal fashion from left to right. An explanation might be the copying of a woodcut, where the workman accidentally ran out of space on the right side of his block, which was then reversed in the printing.

Some remarks must be made about the artist's technique of drawing and painting. Each picture was first drawn in a fine and careful pen outline, and then much of the work was gone over again with a thicker, clumsier brush stroke by the painter (probably a different person), some details being completely obscured. This practice gives an appearance of greater crudity of workmanship than is actually the case. The backgrounds are for the most part a simple indication of blue sky and yellowish-green foreground, with a tree or two in scenes with a garden. The furniture is reduced to a bishop's throne, a bench, or a bed, while a few drawings have the architectural setting of monastery, school, or city. The colors used are a vitreous blue, in which the particles of glass may still be seen where it has been applied thickly; a dusty rose, vermillion (for the frames), green, yellow, and black, with gray for details in the black habits. The Saint's mother, Monica, everywhere appears in a blue cloak, white veil, and rose dress. The child Augustine is in blue; as a youth he wears a fur-trimmed garment with a cap; after his baptism he is depicted in the black robe of a monk, to which are added a cloak and mitre upon his elevation to the episcopate. Many of the scenes contain only two or three figures, and the perspective is naive and rarely successful. Often the paint is applied in a solid mass with straight lines for folds. However, at times a more discriminating use of the color, together with the hatchwork and shading of the draughtsman, produce an effect of chiaroscuro.

The influence of St. Augustine throughout the Middle Ages needs no discussion here. Nevertheless, it may be of interest

to point out that in the *De Ricci Census of Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in America* more space is devoted to his works than to those of any other individual. Over two hundred entries appear, his closest rivals being Aristotle, Cicero, and St. Bernard. The *Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke* lists seventy editions of the genuine works and one hundred and five of the supposititious ones. Although St. Augustine never drew up a monastic code in the same sense as St. Benedict, his writings on the religious life became the basis for a great many orders of both men and women. The Premonstratensians, Servites, Ursulines, and Knights Hospitallers are but a few of these. In the thirteenth century a number of monastic societies were combined to form the Hermits of St. Augustine. Such a move had become necessary because many independent bodies had adopted the "Rule of St. Augustine" while each kept some distinctive feature of customs or dress. The order flourished, and especially in Germany many large monasteries grew up. By the fourteenth century the relaxation of discipline led to reform movements, in which the German houses were again the most prominent. It was to a reformed monastery of the Augustinians that Martin Luther belonged.

The Order of Canons Regular, another important group, stemmed from Augustine's insistence on following a life of rule even within the Episcopal palace. The institution of canons can be traced to early Christian times, for they are simply the clergy attached to a cathedral; however, many placed themselves under Augustine's patronage and practiced his precepts. The Hospice at the St. Bernard Pass in the Alps is served by members of an Augustinian congregation, and Erasmus and Thomas à Kempis were members of the Brothers and Sisters of the Common Life, an institute under the spiritual guidance of canons regular.

The pictorial treatment of St. Augustine's life was a great subject, not so much in the bare outline of events as in the essential aspects of his teachings. The compiler was careful to give his sources (underlined in red ink) at the end of each chapter. In common with all writers, before and since, he took for a starting point Augustine's own *Confessions*, which includes the famous account of his youth and his conversion at the age

of thirty-three. The biographical features of the first nine books of this work fill forty-five chapters of the volume. The later material is taken primarily from Possidius's *Vita S. Augustini* and a group of sermons entitled *Ad Fratres in Eremo*. Possidius, a friend of St. Augustine for nearly forty years, was elected a bishop in Numidia in 397. He produced his book shortly after the death of the Saint. The *Sermons to the Hermits* were edited in the latter part of the fourteenth century by Jordan of Saxony, of the Augustinian order. Ten Latin and three Italian printed editions indicated the popularity of this collection in the following century. But shortly thereafter Erasmus wrote, "Of all works falsely ascribed to St. Augustine, nothing is more absurd and impudent than the Sermons to the Hermits, in which neither the words, nor thoughts, nor affections, nor anything at all is worthy of him." Jordan of Saxony's work included various tracts and legends of the life of Augustine and his mother, and the compiler of the Library's volume may well have made use of it, for he often remarks that certain statements are "ex legenda famosa," or "ex dictis suis et aliorum doctorum." The use of the pseudo-Augustinian work probably did not affect the accuracy of the manuscript, since the material is of a well-authenticated character.

The first page preserved in the volume shows Monica and her husband Patricius taking the young Augustine to school for the first time. An early owner here, as in many other places, wrote the name above each figure. Although simply drawn, the figures have considerable life. The schoolmasters apparently were strict; there is a lively illustration of a story Augustine tells about his praying (unsuccessfully) that he might avoid a beating. One boy is receiving a thrashing; behind Augustine, who is on his knees with hands clasped in prayer, stands another master armed with a switch. While the Saint was still in his teens, his father was converted to Christianity, dying shortly after. In the usual fashion, a tiny naked figure issues from the old man's mouth, representing his soul, which is received by an angel. The drawing of the bedcovers and Monica's grief-stricken expression show the hand of a skillful artist.

The conversion of Augustine furnished material for several

illustrations. As he lies beneath a tree in the garden of his friend Alypius, his book dropped carelessly beside him, the hand of God reaches forth from the sky, red forks signifying the divine intervention. In the right corner Augustine is depicted again, telling Alypius about his experience. This medieval practice of compressing several sequential events into one picture is used in a number of the drawings. After a period of retreat and preparation, Augustine, together with his son Adeodatus and Alypius, is baptized by St. Ambrose, Bishop of Milan. Three fonts are shown, and each candidate appears to be standing in one, up to his waist in water. After the death of Monica, a small band of recruits, Augustine at their head, reached Africa, and with the help of money from Valerius, the Bishop of Hippo, a monastery was built. This is one of the especially charming pictures. One monk is mixing mortar, another is carrying a bucket up a ladder to a companion, and a third is standing upon scaffolding working on the still uncompleted wall. The chapel wing is already built, and the bell is in place. Upon the completion of the cloister, Augustine presents his hermit brothers with a rule of life, as they begin an existence of poverty, possessing all things in common and practicing "vigils, prayers, and fasting." Here in his beloved solitude, Augustine spent much time in contemplation. A large drawing shows him kneeling on the grass, with gently rolling hills, studded with a tree here and there. The vision before his uplifted eyes is denoted by an oval frame containing the traditional representation of the Trinity.

Several pictures illustrate the daily life of the monks. The whole forenoon the brothers devoted to worship. A group kneels before the altar, where a priest in blue chasuble is saying Mass. The artist is attentive to details: the facial expressions are well differentiated, some of the monks being young and clean-shaven and others elderly with beards. While the perspective of the altar is inaccurate, the carving of the reredos is carefully done and two parts of a triptych painting are clearly shown. From twelve to three the monks spent in reading and private prayer. Then they replaced their books and had their main meal, nevertheless "attending more to the Word of God and the reading than to the refreshment of the body." One



of the brothers, as was customary in religious houses, read aloud, his volume resting upon a wooden lectern. The table is laid with a blue-striped cloth, and each place is set with a bowl, a knife, and a chunk of bread. The menu was of herbs and barley bread and included no meat or fish, and but rarely butter, milk, cabbage, and other vegetables. After the meal, the hermits busied themselves in the garden, or wherever there might be work to do; and when vespers were over returned again to silence. Several are shown busily at work out of doors, two with axes cutting down a tree, and a third equipped with a pruning knife.

The fame of Augustine's sanctity of life caused him, much against his desire, to be ordained a priest, that he might preach to the people publicly; and soon Valerius had him elevated to a bishopric to secure his help for himself. In the picture of the consecration Augustine kneels before an altar, two bishops laying their hands upon his head. In this scene, almost uniquely in the manuscript, traces of gold leaf are preserved in the bishops' mitres and croziers.

It is difficult to represent pictorially a man's labors in writing, but the artist did his best. Augustine sits at his desk while in the lower right corner is the head of a fierce monster, red tongues of fire streaming from his open jaws. In the upper part of the drawing angels blow their trumpets, and in a cloud appears again the symbol of the Trinity. The text states that Augustine is here engaged in searching out the Unity and the Trinity, the joys of paradise, the pains of purgatory, and the depths of hell. Some of the Saint's famous sermons on nature are also illustrated, as well as his many works against the Arians and other heretics.

Six chapters show those classes of people for whom, directly or indirectly, Augustine provided a rule of life. First come prelates and clerics, then monks and other religious, nuns and women living an enclosed life, holy virgins, holy widows, good husbands and wives. The Bishop is pictured in his daily life visiting the sick and his monks, receiving penitents, distributing food to the poor, preaching to clerics and laity, and praying for the living and the dead (the latter standing naked in the midst of flames).

The last months of Augustine's life were troubled by the incursion of the Vandals and the siege of Hippo. The Bishop and his monks may be seen above the turreted walls, the gates being stormed by armed soldiers. A quaint touch is the stork standing on her nest on top of one of the houses. At last a fatal illness seized the Saint, and after his death the body had to be carried to Sardinia to safety. Years later Luitprand, king of Lombardy, obtained permission to translate it to Pavia. The body, clothed as in life, is shown lying before the entrance to the town. The last scene of all depicts the bier before the altar of the Church of San Pietro in Ciel d'Oro (where Augustine's sarcophagus still remains) flanked by two brothers of the Order of Hermits and two canons regular, joining in homage to their great patron.

## Civil War Sketches

By ALISON BISHOP

**A**MONG the most interesting recent additions to the Library's Twentieth Regiment Collection are two portfolios of rare Civil War etchings and lithographs — Winslow Homer's *Campaign Sketches*, published in Boston by Louis Prang and Company in 1863, and A. J. Volck's *Sketches from the Civil War in North America*, secretly printed by the artist, a Confederate sympathizer, in Baltimore in 1861-63.

Winslow Homer was twenty-five when, in the fall of 1861, he made his first trip to the front as a special artist and correspondent for *Harper's Weekly* with the Union army. Although already a competent illustrator whose sketches and lithographs had appeared regularly in magazines in both New York and Boston, he had as yet given little promise of the development that was to make him one of America's great artists. It was during his months in the field that he made the realistic drawings which were the basis for the paintings which first made him famous. Many of these as they appeared in *Harper's* are comparatively crude, but this may have been due, as Homer's biographers have suggested, to the clumsy way in which they were transferred to the wood block. Such an explanation is supported by the evidence of the *Campaign Sketches*, where delicacy of line and shading has been preserved by the lithographic process.

Homer spent the spring of 1862 with General McClellan's Army of the Potomac, during the offensive against Richmond. He arrived in Alexandria in time to see and record the departure of the Northern troops, and remained with them through the siege and capture of Yorktown. Judging by his work in *Harper's*, his biographers have concluded that he did not follow the troops in their advance up the peninsula, nor see the Seven Days' Battle and the disastrous failure of the campaign.

The six plates of *Campaign Sketches*, like the drawings in *Harper's*, are humorous rather than heroic and solemn in the manner of much "war art." Instead of vast battle panoramas, they show everyday life in camp, with soldiers eating, resting,

and playing cards. In "A Pass Time: Cavalry Rest," three soldiers are sitting by a fire in a clearing playing what looks like some form of poker. One, whose back is to the observer, holds three aces; four other cavalymen stand or sit watching the game with various expressions. In "The Coffee Call" a crowd of hungry men with tin cups is waiting before an open fire, over which rough pails of steaming coffee hang from a stick. In the distance, behind a cloud of smoke from the fire, can be seen tents, covered wagons, and mules, with other figures running towards the foreground. Only the plate entitled "Foraging," shows soldiers on duty. Here cavalymen are taking a bull from a farmyard, while a servant screams after them. The bull is shown charging wild-eyed through a patch of cabbages, the soldiers clinging to its halter. "Our Jolly Cook" is in a still more humorous vein; it shows a Negro in a tasselled cap dancing to the tune of a fife, while spectators stand watching. In "The Baggage Train" two Negroes are sitting on the rear board of a covered wagon as it moves through the mud at the end of a long line of other wagons. They wear boots and broad-brimmed old hats; one is smoking a pipe, and the other holds a whip. The one serious subject of the *Campaign Sketches* is "The Letter for Home," which portrays the interior of a hospital ward in winter. In the foreground a soldier, thin and worn, is dictating a letter to a nurse who sits on the edge of his bed. In back can be seen rows of beds and a man hobbling on crutches.

These six plates, the actual drawings measuring nine by eleven inches, are extremely rare even individually; and there are only three or four complete sets in existence. The Library's copy, which includes the cover, is apparently unique. This cover, lithographed in red and black on brown, shows a Union soldier in full-dress marching uniform with his pack and rifle.

It was probably one of Homer's sketches made during his first visit to the front that served as the basis for his painting of three soldiers at Camp Benton, now hanging in the Rare Book Department of the Library. This painting, presented by the Twentieth Regiment Association, was completed in 1881, at the beginning of Homer's impressionist period. Twenty-one by twenty-three inches in size, it shows Lieutenant Colonel F. W. Palfrey and Captain W. F. Bartlett of the 20th Massachu-



CAMPAIGN SKETCHES.



A PASS TIME.  
CAVALRY REST.

*One of Winslow Homer's Campaign Sketches  
(Greatly reduced)*



setts Volunteers standing together in conference, while a soldier seems about to give them a message. The scene is a bleak morning, with a cloudy sky broken by patches of blue. The predominant colors are the grays, blues, and gray-browns which were typical of Homer's work at this time, when he was preoccupied with problems of outdoor light. In the background can be seen a row of tents with figures moving about and a horse beside a log cabin. The way the painting catches what must have been the mood of the Army of the Potomac then is striking. The Twentieth Regiment had just passed through its first bad fighting, at the Battle of Ball's Bluff in late October. Its losses had been particularly heavy, and William Lee, the Colonel of the Regiment, had been captured. As the remnants straggled back to Camp Benton, Francis Palfrey of Boston found himself the only officer left of the entire field and military staff, and thus, at the age of thirty, in command. One of his first acts was to appoint William Bartlett, then twenty-one, as second officer.

What artists like Winslow Homer were doing for the Union cause, Adalbert John Volck, a Baltimore dentist and printer, tried to do for the South. His *Sketches from the Civil War in North America* were, according to him, intended as a direct answer to the drawings and cartoons then appearing in Northern papers. "The production of these etchings," he wrote nearly half a century later, "suggested itself to my mind on seeing the illustrated papers of the North filled with one-sided pictures of the war, and with villainous caricatures — such for instance as those of that nastiest of caricaturists, the notorious Nast . . . and I thought it a pity that no pictorial record should issue from the South." (Letter to Mrs. Thomas Baxter Gresham, written on January 21, 1900, now in the Confederate Museum, Richmond, Virginia.)

There has been much bibliographical confusion about this work. The first edition was issued under the pseudonym "V. Blada" — *Adalbert Volck* spelled backwards — and the title page bore the words "London, 1863." However, this was only a subterfuge designed to trick the Union officials. Throughout the war Volck, a German immigrant who had taken part in the revolutionary march on Berlin in 1848, was a vigorous supporter of the rebels, and, according to rumor, even served as

a Confederate spy. He crossed the Union lines many times, helping to bring medicine and supplies to the Southern army. One of the plates, "Smuggling Medicines into the South," shows this activity. It was on these dangerous trips that Volck made many of the sketches on which he based his etchings. "The drawing, etching, and printing were all done by myself at night," he later recalled, "after the day's unintermittent professional labor. Of course entire secrecy had to be preserved. The work was begun about the time of the first Battle of Bull Run . . . The making of these pictures extended through the whole war, the last plate being "The Return Home of Lee's Men," but the last eighteen plates were never printed. Before this could be done, there came Lincoln's assassination, and the danger of issuing the last set was too great to be risked. These last eighteen plates were sent by a friend to England to be printed and issued there . . . Ten years afterwards they were discovered by my brother . . . completely ruined." (From the letter to Mrs. Gresham.)

The original prospectuses for Volck's etchings announced a series of forty-five plates. The "first issue" contained ten; the "second and third issues" included twenty more, and named seventeen additional drawings as being completed and partially etched. The list of these does not include "The Return Home of Lee's Men." According to the letter quoted above, there must have been forty-eight plates in all, of which only thirty were ever printed. However, in a letter of January 11, 1905, now in the Library of Congress, Volck contradicts himself, stating that twenty unpublished plates, not eighteen, were sent to England. This would mean that he actually made fifty plates.

In any case, the thirty etchings which we have are an impressive record of the war as seen from the Southern viewpoint. Compared with Homer's lithographs, they are classical, with sharp outlines and very little shading. Many of the more serious plates recall the work of John Flaxman and other British artists; and even the most bitter caricatures are restrained in style if not in feeling. In the first plate, "Worship of the North," a white man is being sacrificed before a Negro idol, on an altar of which the stones are labelled "Puritanism," "Socialism," "Free Love," "Negro Worship," etc. Many of the North-



ern leaders are present as worshippers, with Henry Ward Beecher officiating as priest and Horace Greeley swinging a censer full of vipers. "The Emancipation Proclamation" shows Lincoln writing while trampling on the Constitution; a grinning devil holds his inkpot. Consistently, Northerners are portrayed as ugly, cowardly, and cruel. They are shown burning homes and killing women and children. Two plates, "Free Negroes in the North" and "Free Negroes in Haiti," illustrate the horrors of Emancipation. Southerners, on the other hand, are depicted as noble, handsome, and brave. Etchings show women sewing for the army and giving up their household goods, and soldiers praying, fighting, and sacrificing home and family.

The Library's set of Volck's etchings is complete, with the plates all clean and in fresh state; only the title page is in facsimile. It also has copies of the editions of 1880-94 and 1917. Volck made other series of drawings during the Civil War, though of lesser importance, and the Library has a second edition of his *Ye Exploits of . . . Bombastes Furioso Buncombe*, 186-?, a set of caricatures of General Benjamin Franklin Butler.

The Twentieth Regiment Collection contains a vast amount of pictorial material on the Civil War. Particularly interesting are twenty lithographs of battles, camps, skirmishes, and marches by a Union soldier, printed in Cincinnati in 1862. The artist, J. Nep Roesler, was a corporal of the Color Guard Company in the 47th Ohio Volunteers, and served during the campaign in that part of Virginia which is now West Virginia. Most of these lithographs have romantic landscape backgrounds, with plenty of trees and clouds, but the figures of the soldiers, clustered around a campfire or sleeping with their caps tilted over their faces, are lively and realistic. Perhaps the best is "Tompkin's Farm," where the rows of peaked tents, the white frame houses, and the tiny soldiers drilling with rifles in a field recall the work of the American primitive painters.

The lithographs and etchings discussed here will be on view in the Treasure Room throughout January and February.

# Lydia Maria Child and Anti-Slavery

By ETHEL K. WARE

(Continued from the October 1951 issue)

IN 1852 the Childs retired to the Francis farm at Wayland, Massachusetts, so that Mrs. Child could care for her father, who was ill. Her brother, James Francis, lived half a mile away. Wayland, originally a part of Sudbury, had been set off in 1780 as East Sudbury, but in March 1835 it was renamed Wayland in honor of Francis Wayland, President of Brown University. In the census of 1850, just prior to the Childs' settlement there, the population numbered 1,115. About fifteen miles from Boston, the Francis-Child cottage was on the road from Wayland to Sudbury. Though the furniture was plain and old-fashioned, Mrs. Child had many pictures and keepsakes of all kinds. In the town of Wayland Center, through which a stagecoach passed twice a day, was located the first free public library in the state, founded at public expense in 1848.

With the Compromise measure of 1850, the slavery issue seemed settled. Yet the second phase of the fight was just in the making. Mrs. Child, although busy with household duties, accomplished considerable writing. In 1853 she published *Isaac T. Hopper, a True Life*, an appreciation of the old Quaker abolitionist, full of lively dramatic episodes of his help to Negroes in danger or distress. In 1855 appeared her three-volume work on comparative religion, *The Progress of Religious Ideas*, the result of years of study. In the preface she warned: "I would candidly advise persons who are conscious of bigoted attachment to any creed or theory, not to purchase this book. Whether they are bigoted Christians, or bigoted infidels, its tone will be likely to displease them." And she added: "My motive in writing has been a very simple one. I wished to show that *theology* is not *religion*; with the hope that I might help to break down partition walls; to ameliorate what the eloquent Bushnell calls 'baptized hatreds of the human race.'"<sup>1</sup>

After the turmoil of Boston and New York, the Childs en-

joyed their retirement at Wayland. Her father's death in December, 1856, caused Maria many "sad, lonely hours," but she soon settled down to work. Her interest in public affairs was unflagging. Commenting on Harriet Beecher Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, she remarked that it had "done much to command respect for the faculties of women." With "towering indignation" she realized that women were made chattels, "perpetually insulted by literature, law, and custom" — she had been obliged to have even her own will signed by her husband. She noticed a lull in fugitive slave activities. The Senate that passed the Nebraska bill she branded as the most "completely servile of all our servile Senates."<sup>2</sup> Diagnosing the situation, she wrote: "The South understands her own interest too well to secede," and "I am out of patience with the North. I don't blame the slaveholders for kicking and cuffing us; for obviously we are of the stuff that slaves are made of."<sup>3</sup> She quoted her old father as saying: "My first vote was given for Washington and my last shall be given for Fremont."<sup>4</sup> Her own hopes were set on this candidate. "I shall not live to see women vote," she wrote to her friend Mrs. S. B. Shaw; "but I'll come and rap at the ballot-box. Won't you? I never was bitten by politics before . . ."<sup>5</sup> Outraged by the assault on Charles Sumner in the Senate, she wrote Theodore Parker about a project for a statue commemorating Sumner's defence of Kansas, but Parker replied, June 5, 1856, that he would rather put the \$1,500 into corn and gunpowder for the men in Lawrence, Kansas.<sup>6</sup> On December 25, 1859, she wrote to Samuel E. Sewall, next to Ellis Gray Loring her closest friend: "May God keep Charles Sumner's garments spotless. He is the only one of our Representatives in whose integrity I have implicit trust. If he falls from his pedestal, I shall never set up another idol."<sup>7</sup>

SINCE the Kansas-Nebraska Act of 1854, the Free-Soil contest had for many people in New England the nature of a crusade. They subsidized the Kansas immigrants, made them clothes, and even supplied arms and ammunition for them. Members of the Massachusetts State Kansas Committee encouraged John Brown in his plot to free the slaves by force. It

is true that they advised delay, but they also supplied him with \$3,800. Mrs. Child had not followed Higginson, Parker, Samuel G. Howe, and others in supporting Brown, but his capture after his ill-fated attack upon Harper's Ferry aroused her sympathies. She wrote to Governor Henry A. Wise, asking him to transmit a letter to John Brown, who had been wounded in the fight and was now in the Charlestown jail, and to allow her to come down to Virginia and serve as his nurse. She and her large circle of abolitionist friends, she told him, were surprised at Brown's attempt, and she did not know of a person who would have approved it. But she was sorry for "the brave and suffering man," who needed "a mother or sister to dress his wounds, and speak soothingly to him."<sup>8</sup> She promised that if allowed to come she would not advance her ideas about the right of the slave to fight for his freedom. In his reply Governor Wise promised to forward the letter to Brown; as to her request to be permitted to minister to the prisoner, he asked: "Why should you not be allowed, Madam? Virginia and Massachusetts are involved in no civil war, and the Constitution which unites them in one confederacy guarantees to you privileges and immunities as a citizen of . . . Massachusetts coming into Virginia for any lawful and peaceful purpose." But at the end the Governor reproved her: "His attempt was a natural consequence of your sympathy, and the errors of that sympathy ought to make you doubt its virtue from the effect on his conduct."<sup>9</sup>

Mrs. Child's answer was in the vein of her editorials of the *Standard* days. She was aware, she wrote, of her constitutional rights, but she had found in many cases that the Constitution had been "completely and systematically nullified whenever it suited the convenience or the policy of the Slave Power." John Brown's methods were sanctioned by his religious views. Was not Governor Wise himself treasonable when he boasted that he would rout government troops if they attempted to stop the invasion of Mexico? "Because slave-holders so recklessly sowed the wind in Kansas," she concluded, "they reaped a whirlwind at Harper's Ferry."<sup>10</sup>

John Brown himself expressed his gratitude to Mrs. Child, but wrote that he was under the care of a "most humane



gentleman" and his family, and had recovered from his wounds enough not to need nursing. He suggested that instead she help his wife, three daughters, two widowed daughters-in-law, and a Mrs. Thompson, also widowed in the cause. He also had a crippled son, now destitute, and "no living son, or son-in-law, who did not suffer terribly in Kansas."<sup>11</sup> A pledge of fifty cents now, and the same sum yearly from her and each of her friends for bread, clothes, and education, would be a real service.

In the meantime, contrary to her expectations, her correspondence with Governor Wise was published in the columns of the New York *Tribune*. As a result of the publicity, a Mrs. M. J. C. Mason of King George's County, Virginia, came into the controversy, with a tirade beginning: "Do you read your Bible, Mrs. Child? If you do, read there: 'Woe unto you, hypocrites,' and take to yourself with two-fold damnation that terrible sentence." Descending to a more mundane level, she added: "No Southerner ought, after your letter to Governor Wise and to Brown, to read a line of your composition, or to touch a magazine which bears your name in its list of contributors; and in this we hope for the 'sympathy,' at least of those at the North who deserve the name of woman."<sup>12</sup> Mrs. Child, in her turn, listed numerous quotations from the Bible, and pointed out the evils of slavery as they were exposed by the statute books of slave states and advertisements of Southern papers. As to the malevolence called down on her publications, she replied that she was in the good company of Channing, Bryant, Whittier, Lowell, Longfellow, and Mrs. Stowe. She released to Greeley both Mrs. Mason's letter and her reply, asking him to print them together. The whole Child-Wise-Mason correspondence was later published in about three hundred thousand copies.

On November 28, 1859, Mrs. Child wrote to one of her friends, probably Anne W. Weston:

I have been *so* overwhelmed with letters about John Brown, that I have been kept in a whirl . . . You can hardly conceive of the violence and obscenity of those I receive from Virginia. I did not suppose that even Slavery could produce anything so foul . . . I cannot understand what I have done to deserve so much laudation on one side, and so much abuse on the other. It seemed to me a

very simple act of kindness to wish to nurse the brave old man, when I supposed him to be alone, helpless and bleeding in prison. The notoriety I gained by it was altogether unexpected to me, and far from being pleasant. But since it *came*, without my seeking, I determined to make the best use I could of it.

In the same letter she mentioned her plan to go to Boston to help Garrison prepare a meeting in honor of Brown, doomed to be executed, adding:

Emerson writes to me: "I have hopes for his brave life. He is one for whom miracles wait." And I confess I have a *little* of the same hope. Yet his death would be a magnificent martyrdom. What a success he has made of failure, by the moral grandeur of his own character! Whether he lives or dies, he has struck a blow at slavery, from the effects of which it will never recover.<sup>13</sup>

Four days later, on December 2, John Brown was hanged.

After Brown's death, Mrs. Child fanned the flame of anti-slavery sentiment. "I am willing to have my name used to any extent," she wrote to the same friend on December 22, 1859. "I would even use the Irish privilege of voting in thirteen wards in one day if it would do any good." She had answered twenty-three letters that week, all but two about John Brown.

Others may spend their time debating whether John Brown did wrong, or not; whether he was sane, or not; all I know, or care to know, is that his example has stirred me up to concentrate myself with renewed earnestness to the righteous cause for which he died so bravely . . .

I have just received an invitation to write for the *Independent*, on my own terms . . . I don't like the course of the *Independent*, in several respects. How inconsistent in H. W. Beecher to send rifles to Kansas, and then deny that the slaves have a right to fight for their freedom! His moral principles seem to be as much blurred as his theological doctrines . . . I did not go into any particulars in my reply to the proposition. I merely wrote: "It would not be agreeable to me to write for a paper, that has dealt so unjustly by William Lloyd Garrison . . ."<sup>14</sup>

A few days later she wrote Maria Chapman that Wendell Phillips had also been asked to write for the *Independent*. "Wendell is orthodox," she remarked, "and so I suppose would like the paper better than I do." However, she seems to have changed her mind some years later and sent occasional articles for the

journal to Theodore Tilton — “the only *sound* timber in the fabric.”<sup>15</sup>

In the following January she related the story of John Brown to sympathizers in other countries. She addressed a letter to Queen Victoria, which she tried to transmit through the British ambassador at Washington who, however, civilly informed her that he could not be the channel. “I thought if I *could* interest the queen *personally*,” she wrote Anne Weston, “it would do more good than any efforts with Colonial Legislatures. Such bodies have no *soul* . . .” Further, she wanted Mrs. Chapman to ask Harriet Martineau whether some English journal would like several articles showing the antecedent causes of the Brown incident. She also wished to send her Wise-Mason correspondence to Victor Hugo, Kossuth, Mazzini, Mary Howitt, the editor of the London *Advertiser*, and *Punch*. However, she soon changed her mind, writing: “You need take no further *trouble* about that London Correspondence. I have given it up, in disgust. I don’t like the look of it. I am not the person to write ‘statesman-like’ letters, and I don’t like to deal with ‘precise’ people, like your English. So good-bye to *that* project. I have another in my head, which I like better . . .”<sup>16</sup>

The suggestion had been made that she write an explanation of John Brown’s foray. “But,” she confessed, “I can’t explain it. The more I cogitate upon it, the more unaccountable it seems to me that any man in his senses could have undertaken such an enterprise.”

**N**EXT, Mrs. Child turned her attention to the case of Thomas Sims. On September 9, 1860, she received a letter from Francis Jackson in answer to her request for facts. Jackson related the following story: Sims, a mason, was a mulatto about twenty-three years old. Claimed by James Potter of Savannah, he was arrested in Boston on April 10, 1851, and falsely charged with stealing a watch. He was imprisoned in the city court house, tried, and later taken down Long Wharf to the brig *Acorn*, bound for Savannah. By order of the Mayor, a regiment of infantry quartered in Faneuil Hall and a militia of fifteen hundred merchants were on duty for the occasion — the cost



to the City, all in all, being \$2,996.95. Money enough was raised to ransom Sims, but Potter refused to sell him at any price — “he wanted to humble Boston.” Sims, delivered to his master’s overseer, was whipped and thrown into jail, where he sickened, and was taken out only because he would otherwise have died. Some time after he had recovered, he was consigned for sale to a broker, who finally bought Sims himself and shipped him to New Orleans “on speculation.” There he was sold to a mason at Vicksburg, for whom he acted “as his boss and is an expert bricklayer.” At the close of his letter Jackson reminded Mrs. Child that since the Fugitive Slave Law of 1850 three fugitives had been arrested in Boston — Shadrack, Sims, and Burns. Shadrack had been rescued, and Burns ransomed. “Sims had as good a right to live in Boston as ever I had,” he wrote, and asked, “Are those who enslaved him going to let him die in Slavery and they in their sins?”<sup>17</sup>

Mrs. Child informed Samuel Sewall that she was going “to speak to several wealthy gentlemen about the purchase of Thomas Sims,” whose master was charging \$1,800 for him “on account of his intelligence and mechanical skill.” Years later, she described the results of an interview: General Devens had given her the money for Sims’s redemption, with the understanding that there was to be no publicity. While she was consulting with friends how best to negotiate with the slave-owner, the guns of Fort Sumter were fired. Sims took refuge in a Union camp. He subsequently came to Boston, and “I heard,” she wrote, “that General Devens gave him \$100 to help set him up in business.”<sup>18</sup>

In 1860 she published *The Right Way the Safe Way*, a study of emancipation based on detailed knowledge of what had taken place in the British West Indies. She had consulted Samuel J. May beforehand, writing to him on February 26:

You will perhaps wonder that I leave out the question of *justice* and *humanity*. But you must remember that I wrote it especially for the *South*. It is strongly impressed upon my mind that there are *reflecting* people at the South, who might be influenced by those statements, if we could only contrive to place them before them. I have thought it might perhaps be well to omit the fact that it is printed by the Anti-Slavery Society; lest the *word* anti-slavery should stop

it in the Post Office. Please consult with Mr. Garrison and Mr. Phillips about it.<sup>19</sup>

She wanted to send a copy of the tract to every member of Congress, every Governor, and every Southern newspaper editor. She desired that each friend of the cause send copies to individuals in the South — this, too, to be done quietly. "My plan is to attack them with a 'troop of horse shod with felt.'" She would have preferred to omit her name from the publication, but as she happened "to be notorious at this time, it seems to be necessary to help its extension." By June she was writing May about a new edition, to which she wanted to add data about Swedish emancipation.

In September, Mrs. Child wrote to Garrison, who was ill and worn out. She told him that he should go away for a rest. "If I can help in taking care of the *Liberator*, in your absence," she assured him, "I will do it most cheerfully. Mr. Child also says he would do anything to help, either in the care of the paper, or the office, and esteem it a privilege, if it would be any relief to you."<sup>20</sup>

Shortly after the opening shots of the war, she wrote to Sewall that she was "afraid of politics in closing the Civil War." "Civil War," she declared, "is a horrid thing, but since it is begun, and there has already been so much expenditure of money, blood, and suffering, it will be a dreadful pity if the *cause* of all the trouble is not removed in the process." She regretted that General Scott was a Virginian by birth, for she did not trust "any southerner's profession of neutrality." As for Mr. Seward, "I will not trust myself," she remarked, "to express my feelings about *him*. I will only say that no amount of *duplicity* on his part can possibly surprise me . . . He gains the ear of Mrs. Lincoln and thus operates indirectly . . . If it had *only* pleased the Lord to remove *him* as well as Douglas."<sup>21</sup> Her peculiar attitude toward Lincoln appears here and there in her letters. In one to Mr. R. F. Wallcut of April 20, 1862, she stated: "Well, it is *something* to get slavery abolished in ten miles square [the District of Columbia], after thirty years of arguing, remonstrating, and petitioning. The *effect* it will produce is of more importance than the act itself. I am inclined to think that 'old Abe' *means* about right, only he has a hide-

bound soul." In another letter to Wallcut on September 7 she wrote in a little note in the margin: "I wish the Rebels might catch 'old Abe.' Don't you *tell*."<sup>22</sup>

She dreaded the Democratic Party more than the rebels "because insidious enemies are more dangerous than open ones." Further, she had seen letters from England stating that Mason and Slidell were offering to abolish slavery as the price of a league with England and France. She thought Seward presented a "remarkably foolish appearance," and that Lincoln seemed to be saying that if the rebels "continued to resist, the United States Government must resort to emancipation."<sup>23</sup> Again, when Mrs. Shaw wrote asking Mrs. Child what she thought of Lincoln, she replied, on May 18, 1862, that he had done better than she expected, and had turned out to be "a better President than we deserve," but she supposed his soul to be a little hide-bound, since he was going to interfere with General Hunter just as he had done with Fremont.<sup>24</sup> It was not till after the election of 1864, when her feelings toward Lincoln had warmed considerably, that she could write to Godwin: "I become more and more radical. I rejoice in having a rail-splitter for President and a tailor for Vice-President. I wish a shoe-black could be found worthy to be appointed Secretary of State; and I should be all the more pleased if he were a *black* shoe-black."<sup>25</sup>

**I**N every way possible Mrs. Child agitated for the aid of the "contrabands," or freed slaves. To Francis Shaw and his wife she poured out her anxieties, writing him on January 28, 1862:

I enclose \$20, which I wish you to use for the "contrabands," in any way you think best . . . My interest in the "contrabands," everywhere, is exceedingly great; and at this crisis, I feel that every one ought to do their utmost. I still have \$40 left of a fund I have set apart for the "contrabands." I keep it for *future* contingencies; but if you think it is more needed *now*, say the word and you shall have it.

Then she told him of the plans she had worked out for making the ex-slaves good members of society:

The "contrabands" ought to be employed on such terms that the

more they *do* the more money they get. I wish white people could get rid of the idea that they must manage *for* them. I think it is a bad system at Fortress Monroe to keep back so large a proportion of their wages to support the sick and the aged. *White* laborers would not work with much heart under such circumstances. They ought to pay them *wages* in proportion to their *work*, and let *them* form Relief Societies among themselves, so that they might feel that *they* did the benevolent work themselves. I think a great deal depends upon the application of proper stimulus to their industry . . .

Where we are drifting I cannot see; but we are drifting *some-where*; and our fate, whatever it may be, is bound up with these same despised "contrabands." Oh, if the country could be saved, *all* free, by jumping into a great gulf, as Quintus Curtius did, how I would hurry to the sacrifice!

To her constant concern for the freed slaves she added (May 18, 1862) an interest in the fate of the "poor whites."

I am greatly interested in the Educational Commission for the "contrabands," which they have started in Boston. I shall do all I can for it. It is refreshing to find *some* green spots in our blood-red landscape. Oh, how heart-sick I am of the war! Almost every day my heart receives some stab, which makes it writhe with anguish. It is not merely our soldiers that excite my pity. I cannot help compassionating the "poor whites" of the South, led into wickedness and danger by men who care no more for their souls or bodies than they would for so many blind dogs. I was glad to see that several hundreds of them deserted from Georgia to the U. S. giving as a reason that they were "tired of fighting the *rich men's* war." Through this terrible process, *they* will come up to the light, as well as the negroes, and they have been scarcely less wronged. I was powerfully drawn to be a teacher among the "contrabands," but my good David would get sick if he went with me, or if he stayed at home alone. The *nearest duty* must not be neglected.

The problems of the coming post-war period greatly worried her. She wrote Mrs. Shaw in the same letter:

The work is in the hands of the Lord, and he is doing it in a most wonderful manner. I don't see how Mrs. Chapman can *help* believing in the superintendence of God. I think the progress of events connected with the war is enough to make *anybody* religious. I confess they have impressed *my* mind very solemnly. That the Rebels will be conquered seems almost certain; but the worst part of the trouble is what to do with them *after* they *are* conquered. I do hope they are not going to be allowed to return directly to Con-



gress, and vote on questions connected with slavery and the rebellion. It is refreshing to see Congress *free* from slaveholding domination, at last. Mr. Gorham of Boston, more than thirty years ago, complained to Mr. Child that *all* Northern men in Congress were obliged to work in fetters . . .<sup>26</sup>

As one of the founders of the Anti-Slavery Women's Fairs and Receptions, she was interested in the continuance of these gatherings. She offered practical suggestions for planning such affairs privately and on a small scale. However, she doubted the necessity of maintaining the *Standard* if it could not support itself. "The plain fact is," she wrote Garrison, "that the *war* has sucked in nearly all the anti-slavery feeling of the country; and the pecuniary demands for *that* are so incessant, and so immense, that only a few crumbs are left to nourish the *old-fashioned* anti-slavery."<sup>27</sup>

Early in 1863 fire damaged the Child's house, though the main body of it and Mrs. Child's precious keepsakes were saved. The feelings of her friends may be seen in a letter from Mrs. Shaw:

I can hardly credit it! I try to think of that neat, perfect, shiny little home changed to what you describe! It does seem hard it should happen to you, of all persons, and just after you had made it all so nice— . . . Now dear Friend, you *surely* will let us build up again for you. If you won't *accept* any money to do it, you know you can mortgage the whole to Frank — at any rate, do treat us like *real relations*.<sup>28</sup>

"Our dear boy," Mrs. Shaw went on, "has gone with his regiment to an Island off Georgia and my heart sinks when I think of it!" This was Colonel Robert Gould Shaw, Commander of the first colored regiment, who was killed in the attack on Fort Wagner, South Carolina, in July of the same year.

**T**HE war over, Mrs. Child turned to help win the peace for the freedman. She called upon Garrison, writing him on July 7, 1865:

I want some help, which perhaps you can render me. I know you will, if you can. I am writing an account of William and Ellen Crafts, and I cannot obtain all the information I wish . . .



I am writing it for the Freedmen's Book which is nearly completed. I am writing over nearly every prose article I extract, so as to give them as *much* as possible in the *smallest space*, and to give it in a very clear and simple form. I am a great lover of mental order, and in this case it is peculiarly necessary for the class of readers I address. I am taking more pains with it than I should if it were intended for young princes, or sprigs of what men call nobility. In the first place, my theory is that whatever is done *at all* ought to be *well* done, and in the next place, I have a more and more tender feeling toward what are called "the lower classes." If I live to be ninety years old and go on at this rate, I shall be the rabidest radical that ever pelted a throne, or upset an image.

How refreshing it is to live in days, when Senators, and Governors, and Presidential Candidates address colored men as "Gentlemen!" Thank God we live to see it! I want to live a while to see the glorious work go on. Don't you?<sup>29</sup>

*The Freedmen's Book*, which appeared in 1865, was a collection of articles, some retold, by various friends of the Negro (Garrison, Mrs. Stowe, L. Sigourney, and Mrs. Child herself), some by Negroes themselves (Frances Harper, F. Douglass, Phyllis Wheatley, Harriet Jacob, and Charlotte Forten). Just before its publication, she wrote to Mrs. Sewall that she hoped it would help the freedmen, the whites, and the cause of woman suffrage. She had tried in every way to save money to pay for the edition, which cost \$1,200. She had gotten together only \$600, but had made arrangements with Ticknor and Fields on the basis of time payments.<sup>30</sup> In an introduction she told the freedmen that she had prepared her book expressly for them, with the hope that those who could read would read it aloud to others. She took nothing for her services, and the book was to be sold to them at the cost of the paper, printing, and binding. The returns would be immediately invested in other volumes to be sent to freedmen. If any money remained after the book ceased to sell, it would go to the Freedmen's Aid Association, for schools for freed slaves and their children.

The book that was to be Mrs. Child's last work in behalf of the Negro was an indirect plea; it took the form of a novel, *A Romance of the Republic*, 1867. Here she let her imagination run wild. It is a story of slavery days, in which the heroines are two lovely mixed-blooded New Orleans girls, who for 442 pages go through all the vicissitudes Mrs. Child's mind was

capable of devising. The plot is filled with melodrama — shipwreck, substituted babies, long-lost sisters, disclosed identities, wicked villains, and noble heroes *ad infinitum*. Writing Tilton on October 27, 1867, about a review of her novel which had appeared in the *Independent*, she said she never sought notice, but that if it came in a friendly, spontaneous way she was thankful. Apparently to quell some doubts about the credibility of the "Methuselah" parrot which appears in the book, she told him that parrots sometimes live to be a hundred years old, and that she had found the case of a parrot that "did utter a scream of joy and fall dead" on hearing Spanish spoken after being sold to an English sea captain. As for the character of Alfred King, she had made his "broadcloth sit stiffly upon him because he was a Bostonian, in contrast to the impulsive and slippery South Carolinian."<sup>31</sup>

Though she was isolated at Wayland, Mrs. Child's interest in public affairs never flagged. Expressing her political sentiments freely, she wrote Mrs. Shaw on April 2, 1866, that "the virus of the Democratic Party does so disease the blood of man, that seven times washing in Jordan cannot cleanse him." Reacting to a compliment from Mrs. Shaw's son-in-law, George William Curtis, she assured her friend that if he wished to keep the illusion of her looking "sweet and lovely,"

he had better never mention in my presence our fuddled President or the "narcotic maudlinism" of his snaky Secretary of State. Heavens! What a couple to steer our Ship of State through the dangerous breakers that surround her! It makes me groan to think that I cannot convince people how bad and how dangerous a man William H. Seward is. Sometimes, when I get thinking about him, the Charlotte Corday spirit rises within me, and I look anything but "sweet and lovely". . .

"Magnanimity" toward fallen foes is a very good thing; but I tell you there is a great deal of a spurious kind in circulation, and toward foes who are *not* fallen. The Republic was never in so great danger as it now is. France ready with her armies on our Mexican border, the Fenians saying to the ex-slaveholders, "Make a war upon England for *us*, and we will help *you* to exterminate the niggers and put down the Yankees. Here we are, organized in every state and ready for your service." The Rebels, emboldened by Johnson and Seward, and provided with the arms and ammunition, which Grant and Sherman allowed them to carry to their homes,

are already talking of invading the North. And *we*, good easy souls, are feeding the South with sugar-plums, just as we did when the *first* War of Rebellion was close upon us!<sup>32</sup>

A steady flow of letters to Mr. and Mrs. Samuel B. Sewall and to other friends continued during the last fifteen years of Mrs. Child's life. She thought the "nation might fare worse than in the hands of General Grant," though she distrusted his terms to Lee and felt that he had not expressed sympathy for the colored people. She was afraid he was an "habitual tippler," and "we have had *enough* of that sort of thing in the White House" — but if they could not have Sumner, "take *him*." She was glad that "Andy Johnson" was impeached at last, though she wished "the terms of the indictment had expressed something about the slaughters and discouragements of the freed people, caused by his nefarious policy." She mourned unceasingly "over the injustice and impolicy of Congress, in not taking away large tracts of land from rich rebels and selling them cheaply in small portions to the freedmen and the poor whites." The "wickedness of Congress" in granting immense tracts of the public lands to monopolists made her indignant. She wanted to whip them out. "We will," she added, "when the women get the control of affairs."<sup>33</sup>

She followed the Franco-Prussian War closely, finding the Prussians "very forbearing." "Wendell Phillips jeers at me," she wrote Mrs. Sewall, "for being a partisan of the Germans. I certainly have a very great liking for German literature, art, and character."<sup>34</sup> She also "respected" the Czar for emancipating the serfs, and felt grateful to Russia for her friendliness to the North during the Civil War.

David Lee Child, like his wife, never lost interest in reform. As late as May, 1874, he was trying to enlist the aid of Garrison on some "controversial issue." Garrison, who was to survive him by five years, wrote with affection:

Having labored with you and your dear and noble wife, for so many years, to make this world better than we found it — and I trust not labored in vain — I hope to join you in another sphere, animated by a similar spirit, and consecrating the same faculties and powers to "the general welfare" under better conditions and with constant enlargement; only may "the sum of all villainy" have

no possible foothold in that untried sphere! Should we find it there, however, no matter under what sanctions or in what strength, here is my pledge of hand and heart to join you as in "auld lang syne," in a war of extermination!<sup>35</sup>

Child died on September 18, 1874. Maria sorted his papers and possessions, and distributed many of them among his old friends, including of course Garrison. The latter, now nearly seventy, had been ill; yet he would have made the effort to go to the funeral. Mrs. Child perhaps sensed this and let him know that no notices to friends were sent. After paying tribute to her husband, Garrison wrote her:

I cannot refrain from renewing the expression of my earliest appreciation of your character, genius, literary productions, and self-denying and untiring labors in the cause of universal emancipation, of suffering humanity in its varied aspects, or religious freedom of inquiry and dissent as against all sacerdotal assumptions, of equal rights and immunities without regard to sex, of reform and progress in their widest scope. Few have written so well and instructively as yourself. Multitudes on both sides of the Atlantic have read your writings with profit and delight, and yours has been a conspicuous part in popular education. I honor and admire you among the very first of your sex in any age or country.<sup>36</sup>

Mrs. Child had been dreading the parting with her husband, whose decline she had watched for some time with heart-ache. When the separation came, she did not know where to go. For a while she visited friends, but returned home in 1875 with Mrs. Pickering, who remained her companion until her death on October 20, 1880. Almost to the last day of her life she carried on her correspondence. She considered herself blessed with many intimate friends, "all sifted out from the world in the Anti-Slavery sieve."<sup>37</sup>

## Notes

1. *The Progress of Religious Ideas*, New York 1855, vii.
2. *Letters of Lydia Maria Child*, Boston 1883, 69, 74, 71-2.
3. Robie-Sewall Collection, Massachusetts Historical Society (December 18, 1859).



4. Bryant-Godwin Collection, New York Public Library (L. M. C. to Godwin, November 18, 1856).
5. *Letters of Lydia Maria Child*, 80.
6. MSS. Letters, New York Historical Society.
7. Robie-Sewall Collection (December 25, 1859).
8. *Correspondence between Lydia Maria Child and Gov. Wise and Mrs. Mason, of Virginia*, Boston 1860, 3.
9. *Ibid.*, 4.
10. *Ibid.*, 6, 12.
11. *Ibid.*, 15. A footnote in Oswald Garrison Villard's *John Brown*, New York 1943, 479-80, quotes a letter written by George H. Hoyt, John Brown's lawyer, to J. W. Le Barnes: "Do not allow Mrs. Child to visit Brown . . . He *don't* want *women* there to unman his heroic determination to maintain a firm and consistent composure. Keep Mrs. Child *away at all hazards*. Brown and associates will certainly be lynched if she goes there."
12. *Correspondence between Lydia Maria Child and Gov. Wise and Mrs. Mason, of Virginia*, 16-18.
13. Lydia Maria Child MSS., 1821-1873, Boston Public Library, 79.
14. *Ibid.*, 82.
15. *Ibid.*, 86.
16. *Ibid.*, 89, 91.
17. *Ibid.*, 92-3.
18. Robie-Sewall Collection (September 27, 1860); MSS. Letters, New York Historical Society (to "Mr. Earle Boston," April 11, 1877).
19. Anti-Slavery Letters Written to William Lloyd Garrison, Boston Public Library, XXX, 24.
20. *Ibid.*, XXX, 124.
21. Robie-Sewall Collection (June 16, 1861).
22. Anti-Slavery Letters Written to William Lloyd Garrison, B. P. L., XXXI, 16, 146.
23. Horace Greeley Papers, New York Public Library (L. M. C. to Horace Greeley, March 9, 1862).
24. Shaw Family Correspondence, New York Public Library.
25. Bryant-Godwin Collection (L. M. C. to Godwin, December 13, 1864).
26. Shaw Family Correspondence (January 28, 1862; May 18, 1862).
27. Anti-Slavery Letters Written to William Lloyd Garrison, B. P. L., XXXII, 95.
28. Child MSS., 18.
29. Anti-Slavery Letters Written to William Lloyd Garrison, B. P. L., XXXIV, 67.
30. Robie-Sewall Collection (October 9, 1865).
31. MSS. Letters, New York Historical Society.
32. Shaw Family Correspondence.
33. Robie-Sewall Collection (March 21, 1868; February 3, 1871).
34. *Ibid.*, ([September ?, 1871?]; December 20, 1871).
35. Anti-Slavery Letters Written to William Lloyd Garrison, B. P. L., VIII, 46.
36. *Ibid.*, VIII, 64. Marked "copy."
37. Robie-Sewall Collection (January 10, 1875).



# The Wiggin Collection of Fore-Edge Paintings

By MURIEL C. FIGENBAUM

IT was in 1945 that Albert H. Wiggin began to form the fine collection of fore-edge paintings that upon his death in May 1951 came to the Boston Public Library. One of the largest collections in this country, it is surpassed in size only by the Estelle Doheny Collection at St. John's Seminary, Camarillo, California. The Wiggin Collection contains 258 volumes, some of which are the unusual double fore-edge paintings, and is, to the best of our knowledge, the largest in a public institution.

The painting done on the fore-edge of a book, and known as a fore-edge painting, is visible only when the pages are carefully fanned, in the same manner as when the artist was painting the picture. When the book is closed, the painting disappears under the gold leaf of the edge. In time it was realized that after one painting was finished it was possible to paint another, fanning the book in the opposite direction. These are known as double fore-edge paintings. The work itself is done in water color, very drily.

Little is found in writing about fore-edge painting and its history. However, as the technique was passed on by word of mouth, it is by no means a lost art. Fore-edge painting is being done today by Frederick R. Cross. An example of his work is dated 1946. Carl F. Weber's *A Thousand and One Fore-edge Paintings*, published by the Colby College Press in 1949, seems to be the first book devoted to the subject. Cyril Davenport has attributed its invention to Samuel Mearne, the royal book-binder to Charles II. Whether or not Mearne did the paintings himself or employed artists to do them, is still a matter of speculation. The shift to landscape from the scrolls and heraldry of this early period came about a hundred years later, and was developed for the most part by Edwards of Halifax. The question of just who was "Edwards of Halifax" is ably discussed by Mr. Weber. He identifies the various members of the Edwards family, all of whom were interested in the art of the book. Wil-

liam Edwards was a bookseller, bookbinder, and publisher in Halifax, who sent his sons, James and John, to London where he settled them with a fashionable bookshop.

It was William Edwards who revived and developed the art of fore-edge painting perhaps as early as 1755, and invented two special types of binding. One is known as the Etruscan binding in which the calfskin of the binding has been colored by treating with chemicals. The center panel of the book is usually decorated this way, and gives the effect of a growing tree. Classical motifs then surround this panel in gold or blind stamp. There are interesting examples of this type of binding coupled with fine fore-edge paintings, also attributed to Edwards of Halifax, in the Wiggin Collection. Among them is David Robertson's *A Tour through the Isle of Man*, London, 1794, which has the typical "tree calf" inlay in the back and front covers. A finely executed fore-edge painting of a rural scene in the neighborhood of Milton Constable, Norfolk, is under the gilt. Two volumes of Hector MacNeill's *Poetical Works*, London, 1801, are also bound in this manner, with fore-edge paintings on each volume, a view of Edinburgh Castle and a landscape with Stirling Castle. The other style of binding which Edwards developed is a cream-colored vellum, often decorated with a painting. Either William Edwards or his son James invented a way of rendering the vellum transparent, and the paintings were done under the vellum, enabling the colors to last indefinitely. Most of the paintings are done in black or sepia, such as the Library's copy of Thomas Gray's *Poems*, London, 1785. On the front cover the Muse of Poetry is strewing Gray's tomb with flowers, and on the back there is a scene described in his poem "The Bard," in which the poet stands on a cliff above the water playing a harp. The painting under the fore-edge depicts a bridge across a river with the tops of the buildings visible in the distance and with mountains in the background. Apparently the artist was inspired by the opening lines of Gray's "Ode on a Distant Prospect of Eton College."

Other examples of this type of Edwards binding with fore-edge paintings are *Specimens of the Early English Poets*, London, 1790, with a painting of the house of Sir Thomas Claverings, Oxwell Park, Northumberland, whose name appears in ink on

the flyleaf of the volume; *Poems and Essays* by Jane Bowdler, Bath, 1788-87, with a painting of a fort on a river bank with a sailing vessel in the foreground; and *Poems* by E. Cartwright, London, 1786. The binding of this last book is contemporary white vellum with paintings in sepia under the covers of the binding. An outstanding volume is James Thomson's *The Seasons*, London, 1788. Here instead of the usual monochrome are designs in full color. The central design in the front cover is a circular medallion of green background with a figure of a man offering grapes to a child. Red and black concentric circles surround the design. Etruscan borders of gilt and green are on both covers, and within the borders there is a floral design with ribbons and urns. On the back cover, in color, is the reclining figure of a shepherd with flute and a winged cupid with pipes. The fore-edge painting depicts a lake with a small island in the center, and at the right is a mansion showing its reflection in the water. This volume is considered to be one of the finest examples of the work of Edwards of Halifax.

Among the examples of the double fore-edge painting in the Wiggin Collection are two volumes of *Roderick* by Robert Southey, London, 1818. Volume I bears a painting of the "Gate House, Highgate," showing a street and houses, and, reversing the fanning of the pages, "The Tower of London," with ships at anchor in the Thames River. Volume II offers "The Foundling Hospital" with street and carriage in the foreground, and "London from Highgate," with houses and field in the foreground. Also bearing a double fore-edge painting is *The Life of the Right Reverend Beilby Porteus, D. D.* by Robert Hodgson, London, 1811. One side shows a view of St. Paul's Cathedral from the Thames and the other a view of Chester Bridge. The volume is from the library of Shute Barrington, Bishop of Durham, to whom, in conjunction with the Bishop of Lincoln, the book is dedicated. An unusual example is seen in the two volumes of *Memoirs of the Court of King James the First* by Lucy Aikin, London, 1822. Each volume has a double fore-edge painting, and three of the paintings are divided into two, making in all seven subjects. Volume I contains a portrait of James I and a view of Whitehall from the river, and, from the back, a portrait of Francis Bacon and a view of York Gate; volume II de-





*Fore-Edge Paintings on William Coreper's Poems, Published in London in 1808*





picts a portrait of William Shakespeare and a view of the Globe Theater, and, from the back, the landing of the Pilgrims.

Of special interest are the twelve fore-edge paintings after Wheatley's *Cries of London*. The Library possesses a superb complete set of the thirteen stipple engravings done after Wheatley, and also a unique set of porcelain figurines by Gwendolyn Parnell of the same subjects; thus the addition of these fore-edge paintings to the Wiggin Collection enlarges a fascinating subject. The paintings are in the two volumes of William Cowper's *Poems*, London, 1820, each bearing a double fore-edge painting, and each painting divided into three finely executed subjects.

There is an earlier edition of Cowper's *Poems*, published in London in 1808, in two volumes, bound in dark blue morocco with gilt by Bartholomew Frye of Halifax. Frye was one of the employees of William Edwards, and went into business for himself after the latter's death. Whether or not he himself did the fore-edge paintings on his books is not known, but their superiority is easily recognized. One of the paintings depicts a harvest landscape, and the other a rustic river scene.

The finest book in the collection, not only because of the painting, but for the binding and the provenance, is the *Dictionnaire Grec-Français*, Paris, 1817. It is bound in original red straight-grained morocco, richly gilt and blind-tooled. The sides are decorated with a broad gold border of flowers and leaves. Under the gilt of the fore-edges is a charming mythological painting, portraying a nude Diana, sitting with a handmaid by a lake, with two dogs and a sheaf of arrows, her bow and some dead game. Diana is resting against blue drapery. The background shows trees, rushes, and sky. The binding is signed in gold on the spine by the binder, R. P. Ginain. The volume originally belonged to the Marquis of Douglas and Clydesdale, whose monogram "D & C" appears on the front cover. His signature appears on the first blank flyleaf. The book subsequently belonged to Napoleon III and contains his book-label, an "N" surmounted by a crown printed in gold. Evidently this was one of the more important books in the Emperor's library, as the labels he used in the less important books were printed either in silver or black.

Another item of interest is *The Plays of William Shakespeare*, London, 1823. An unusual fore-edge painting embellishes the volume, depicting an actor in costume, with sword and shield in the part of Falstaff. The thickness of the book, about two inches, allowed the artist to paint the picture with the figure of the actor standing parallel with the fore-edge, instead of at right angles to it. It is most unusual to find a painting placed vertically, the great majority being in a horizontal position. The human figure is by no means a common subject in fore-edge painting. When it does occur, it is almost invariably in the form of a small vignette, a bust, or as a very small figure in a landscape. The figure in this painting is approximately seven inches in height.

The collection also includes the three volumes of *The Bibliographical Decameron* by T. F. Dibdin, London, 1817, which contains several hundred beautiful woodcuts and engravings of illuminations, portraits, etc., and a fore-edge painting on each volume. These were done by a Miss Daniels of Ipswich for Admiral Page and his wife and represent on Volume I, a view of Lowestoffe, Suffolk; on Volume II, a view of Harwich, Essex; and on Volume III, a view of Oxford Castle, Suffolk.

One of the more recent fore-edge artists was Miss C. B. Currie, whose books are signed and numbered, but not dated. We do know, however, that she was active at least as late as 1928. She was employed by Riviere and Son, London binders, and began her career as painter of miniatures on ivory, which were sometimes inserted in bindings. Many of her fore-edge paintings were on old books that were being rebound, and for a time they were not always in keeping with the subject of the book. A number of examples of her books are in the Wiggin Collection, one of which is *A History of New York* by Washington Irving, published in London in 1821 under the pseudonym of Diedrich Knickerbocker.

Among other interesting items is an old manuscript recipe book, decorated with a fore-edge painting, but containing handwritten notes. Robert Southey's *The Curse of Kehama*, London, 1812, is embellished with a scene of India along the shore of a river with a Hindu Temple upon a high rock, palms in the distance, and a boat at anchor off shore.

## Notes on Rare Books and Manuscripts

### An Important Gift of Manuscripts

IT is pleasant to announce here the recent receipt of an anonymous gift of a distinguished group of manuscripts and documents.

About one-third of the group are Americana. The most valuable among them is a long autograph letter by George Washington, dated from headquarters in Cambridge on April 4, 1776, giving instructions to Major-General Artemus Ward for the military administration of "the Province of the Massachusetts Bay," particularly in relation to the defense of Boston. The letter, nearly four folio pages long, has been published (in the Centennial Volume of the *Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society*, 1878, pp. 4-8); nevertheless, it may be of interest to summarize a few of its points. All the lines on Boston Neck, the Commander-in-Chief wrote, were to be demolished, as they were no security to the town; proper signals for alarming the country upon the appearance of a fleet were to be agreed upon without delay; the powder magazine in Boston was to be closely guarded; all captures made by the Continental armed vessels were to be immediately reported to the Court of Admiralty of the district; the barracks were to be preserved; the wheat left by the King's forces was to be sold or converted into flour for the Army, and so on. General Washington especially insisted upon keeping strong discipline among both officers and soldiers. "All attempts to mutiny, or disobedience of orders," he wrote, "should be severely punished."

Another fine item is a letter by Thomas Jefferson, written from Paris on September 9, 1788, to "Mr. Rutledge," probably William Rutledge, who at that time was visiting in Europe. This, too, has been published (in *The Writings of Thomas Jefferson*, edited by H. A. Washington, 1853, vol. II, pp. 474-75). The larger part of the letter is a refutation of Buffon's description of the moose as being identical with the Lapland reindeer. Jefferson went to great trouble and expense to secure the skin and skeleton of the animal. He asked General Sullivan to have one killed for him. "M. de Buffon," he wrote, "describes the Renne to be about three feet high, and truly the Moose you saw there was seven feet high, and there are some of them ten feet high." And further on: "The animal whose

enormous bones are found on the Ohio, is supposed by M. de Buffon and M. Daubenton to have been an Elephant. Dr. Hunter demonstrated it not to have been an Elephant. Similar bones are found in Siberia, where it is called the Mammoth. The Indians of America say it still exists very far north in our continent." There are also some reflections about the *philosophes*, such as John Adams could have written: "I am glad to hear you have been so happy as to become acquainted with M. de Saussure. He is certainly one of the best philosophers of the present age. Cautious in not letting his assent run before his evidence, he possesses the wisdom which so few possess of preferring ignorance to error. The contrary disposition in those who call themselves philosophers in this country classes them in fact with the writers of romance . . ."

There is also a letter by John Adams, written in his old age, on July 29, 1818, to Rufus King. Apparently it has never been published. Here are some passages:

For a long course of Years I have almost dispaired of the Policy of Themistocles, of Colbert, De Witt and Cromwell, or even of Queen Elizabeth in this Country.

Nothing has wounded my soul so deeply as to see the Opposition that I have seen in Massachusetts, and even in the Town of Marblehead, to a National Navy.

I have never dared, and I dare not now, to look forward to future Events in America. Your Assurances of Union revive me. Nothing would give me more pleasure than to communicate freely with you on these Subjects; but Mr. Addison's faulty figure of the "expiring flame of the dying lamp" is the Emblem of your most humble servant, etc.

Similarly unpublished is John James Audubon's letter to his son Victor, written in London on October 10, 1828. Having described the progress of his work on the first volume of the *Birds of America*, Audubon gives a few details of his technique in making the plates and, then, with justifiable pride he boasts:

A full length portrait of myself will form the Frontispiece, and in centuries hence the name of Audubon will stand on the pages of Ornithology . . . When I retrograde in thought on my situation when I first landed in England with 340£ an unknown individual and therefore not a friend in this country, and again think and see that in less than two years I have established such Publication as mine, have procured 125 subscribers, have become honorary member of 11 of the first Societies in the



Country, have managed to pay punctually all engagements and find myself supplied with sufficient funds to proceed without fear, I wonder at my extraordinary great Luck, or Industry or whatever you may please to term it.

There are brief letters by Emerson, Longfellow, Oliver Wendell Holmes, and William Cullen Bryant; a few lines and a signature by John Winthrop, the first Governor of the Bay Colony, and by Edward Rawson, Clerk of the General Court; a congressional resolution made on June 30, 1775, to the effect that in case any Indian tribes were to support the British ministry the Colonies would undertake an alliance with their enemies; a broadside containing a military appointment signed by Samuel Adams as Governor of Massachusetts; and other similar material.

Among the English items there is a remarkable document in the handwriting of Isaac Walton, author of *The Compleat Angler*, relating to a house purchased by him at Halstead on the river Colne in Essex. It contains the deposition of Walton's neighbor, Walter Noell, who testified that John Meison had no right to walk through Walton's yard and that in so doing he was a trespasser.

In a long letter, dated May 17, 1754, Samuel Richardson thanks Lady Elizabeth Echlin for her acceptance of his *Sir Charles Grandison*. The letter, apparently unpublished, contains acute and detailed comments on the characters in both *Sir Charles Grandison* and *Clarissa*. The following is a characteristic passage:

I admire your Ladiship for what you say of Clementina, and the Count of Belvedere. I have half a dozen of my female Correspondents, who (sweet Romancers, as they are, yet know it not) cannot bear the Thoughts of that noble Lady's resolving to reward the Count for his persevering Love. Till now, I thought Constancy and Fervour in a Lover sufficient to make any Man, not unworthy from want of Rank, Fortune, Morals, a Merit in the Heart of the noblest Woman. But some Ladies had rather *forgive* (and this perhaps to the Praise of their Generosity!) real Faults in a Lover, than *reward* passive Values. — It is not often given to Woman, when addressed by more than one Man, to choose for Happiness. Something glaring, active, bustling, will engage her, as it has done those who sitting in Judgment on the Characters of Clementina and Harriet, prefer that of Clementina: Who, however, I think of as an admirable Woman; and as a Sister not unworthy of the generous Love of Harriet.

On May 26, 1801, Admiral Nelson wrote from board of the *St.*



*George*, off Rostock, to Alleyne Fitzherbert, Lord St. Helens, the new English Ambassador to St. Petersburg. Written shortly after the assassination of Tsar Paul and the subsequent collapse of the Northern Confederacy formed against England, the letter is not included in *The Dispatches and Letters of Lord Nelson*, published in seven volumes in 1845-46.

A letter by Samuel Taylor Coleridge, dated February 6, 1818, shows his preoccupation at that time with the work of the English reformers:

Brerewood's tract begins where I have put in the slip of Paper. The first treatise I have never been able to light on; but this is a whole in itself. Byfield's work is interesting only as it leads to the history and origin of the controversy — and as a specimen of the Bigotry and mob-adulation of the Puritans, of that age — at least of too many of them. The first great Reformers, nay, Calvin himself in his best works, breathe a far other spirit — and in a marked degree the Founders and Martyrs of the Church in England, till errors on both sides brought it to be the Church of England as by Law.

Byron's letter, written on December 13, 1820, from Ravenna to Richard B. Hoppner, the English consul at Venice, has been published; yet the poet's remarks about the German translation of his *Manfred* are worth quoting: "There is a German translation of *Manfred* — with a plaguy long dissertation at the end of it; it would be out of all measure and conscience to ask you to translate the whole, but if you could give me a short *sketch* of it I should thank you — or if you would make somebody do the whole into *Italian*, it would do as well; and I would willingly pay some poor Italian German Scholar for his trouble."

Walter Scott sent to Sir William Knighton, Keeper of the Privy Purse to George IV, on May 18, 1829, the first copy of the new edition of the Waverly Novels inscribed to the King. "As it is a work intended for wide diffusion and a small price," the novelist wrote, "its exterior could not have that splendour which ought to have attended the Dedication, but I trust the decorations which I believe are good, at least they are executed by the best artists we have, may be esteemed some apology for the humility of the volumes. We start with a sale of ten thousand which in a work which runs to 40 volumes is a very considerable matter."

A letter by Charles L. Dodgson, the Lewis Carroll of *Alice in Wonderland*, is particularly touching, if not pathetic. Dated East-

bourne, September 7, 1883, the writer speaks of his desire to know certain children in spite of their guardians' opposition.

The miscellaneous items include a letter by Lorenzo de Medici and one by Martin Luther. Luther's letter, written in August 1537, is addressed to the Council of Torgau, in Silesia. The reformer asked the aldermen of the town to help their parson, who had served them for fourteen years, to buy a piece of land on which he could build a house for his family. There is also Haydn's acknowledgment of his election to the Institut National des Sciences et des Arts in Paris, written in Vienna in April 1802, and a receipt given by Beethoven for twelve gold ducats paid to him to cover the expenses which he had incurred in connection with the manuscripts of three Scotch songs sent to him by George Thompson.

The unpublished letters in the collection will be printed in full in future issues of this magazine.

ZOLTÁN HARASZTI

### Wynkyn de Worde's *Passyon* of 1521

THE *Passyon of our Lorde* was issued by Wynkyn de Worde in London on October 6, 1521. Following the colophon is the printer's striking, three-panelled device, containing in the central panel the printer's mark of his former master, William Caxton (McKerrow 25). The volume is illustrated with sixteen large woodcuts and one repeat, each filling approximately two-thirds or one-half of a page, and nine small cuts, including one repeat. Some of the decorated initials consist of two faces in profile; the type is a large black letter. The book is very rare; the *Short-Title Catalogue* mentions only two copies.

Treatise and woodcuts are wholly medieval in spirit, unruffled by a breath from Reformation or Renaissance. On the verso of the title-page is the statement that the book has been translated from the French by Andrew Chertsey in 1520. Chertsey, in the neighborhood of London, was known as the seat of the monastery of St. Peter. It may be supposed that the writer came from a family in that region. In a verse prologue Robert Copland introduces him as one who has endeavored

Bokes to translate in volumes large and fayre  
From frenche in prose, of goostly exemplayre.

Copland enumerates Chertsey's other works, the *Flour of Goddes Commaundements*, a treatise called *Lucydary*, "with two other of the seuyn sacraments/ One of christen men the ordinary/The seconde, the craft to lyue well and to dye." He further explains that the book was formerly in a language too rude, and that the translator has applied himself to banish this vice, presenting the work in clear English, at the instance of Wynkyn de Worde. Copland, although he signed only the prologue and the invocation at the end, is believed to be also the author of the stanzas, much in the same style, that introduce the prose chapters. A printer and bookseller, as well as writer and translator, he was in the service of Wynkyn de Worde, but had set up his own printing establishment by 1515. His printing output was small, but he is credited with a long list of works, mostly translations and compilations, beginning with *The Kalender of Shepherdes*, printed by de Worde in 1508, and including the poems *Hye Way to the Spyttel Hous* and *Jyl of Breynthorpes Testament*. He was an executor of de Worde's will in 1533. Mr. John M. Berdan, in his study of *Early Tudor Poetry*, (1920) remarks that Copland "may be taken as an extreme example of those importing French influence."

The book is a narrative of the Passion summarized from the Gospels, beginning with the raising of Lazarus and ending with the entombment of Christ. The expositions are in the nature of a sermon, with occasional hits at contemporary evils. Having told how the Jews would not enter the court of Pilate because he was a pagan, lest they be thought unworthy to partake of their paschal feast, the writer comments: "Of the which condycyon dyvers be of nowe a dayes the which haue no consyence to slee [slay] a man by sclaudre [slander] and backbytynge where they wyll shewe themselfe to haue consyence of a small thinge." The chapter treating of Lazarus contains some harrowing descriptions of the torments of purgatory and hell. Throughout, the narrator dwells on the effect of events on the Virgin Mary.

The woodcuts give the book its special interest. They range from crude, naïve efforts to the well composed and forcefully cut Crucifixion of the title page, and belong to different series and periods. Wynkyn de Worde, who succeeded Caxton in 1491 and ten years later moved from Westminster to Fleet Street in London, acquired, with Caxton's other stock, also his woodcut blocks, some of which furnished illustrations for the *Passyon*. Four cuts which Caxton first used in the *Speculum Vitae Christi* by St. Bonaventura

can be identified. According to Hodnett's *English Woodcuts 1480-1535*, the design and style of these cuts is Flemish. In the *Passyon*, the first of the Caxton cuts illustrates the raising of Lazarus, although it was originally intended to represent the raising of the daughter of Jairus. Indeed, the figure coming to life on the bier is evidently a girl and the man kneeling in joyful consternation would naturally be her father. The following cut shows Mary Magdalen anointing the feet of Christ. The gestures of the figures are pronounced, and the fish on a plate, the loaves and salt-cellars on the table are naively realistic. The Entrance into Jerusalem is the usual dramatic composition. The fourth Caxton cut is a rather primitive crucifixion.

Most of the small cuts seem to have made their appearance for the first time in the volume. Hodnett distinguishes two series of which these form parts: to the first belong a little cut depicting the thieves tied to their crosses, and another which shows the raising of the sponge; to the second, which may have been cut out by Flemish hands, belong five small cuts, Christ before Pilate and a striking "Ecce Homo" among them.

Six larger cuts of another group, also first introduced in the *Passyon* of 1521, include the notable cut on the title page; the Agony in the Garden, in which the faces of the sleeping Apostles are sharply characterized; Judas returning the money; the scourging of Christ; Pilate washing his hands; and the entombment. The composition in all these cuts is effective, and the figures have considerable animation. "Collectively the set represents a high level of woodcutting," Hodnett comments, "and if perchance it is the work of De Worde's chief man, then it is his *chef d'œuvre*. The original designs must be French."

Finally the volume contains four cruder cuts, one of which — Christ before Caiaphas — appeared for the first time in the *Passyon* of 1521, while the others were used by de Worde in St. Bonaventura's *Vita Christi* of 1509 or 1517.

The Library's copy is handsomely bound in dark blue morocco by Rivière.

MARGARET MUNSTERBERG

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EDITOR: ZOLTÁN HARASZI

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# THE Boston Public Library QUARTERLY

APRIL 1952

## A Gift of Rare Books

By ZOLTÁN HARASZTI

IT is a pleasure to announce that Mr. Lee M. Friedman, President of the Board of Trustees and a noted book collector, has donated to the Library an important group of rare books, mostly first editions of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century literature. Many of the items fill gaps in the Library's collections; but, apart from the value of the books, there is a special satisfaction in the spirit which has prompted Mr. Friedman's action:

"The rare book collections," he stated, "constitute one of the chief distinctions of the Boston Public Library; yet the development of such collections in a public institution must depend on the contributions of private individuals. It has been so in the past, and will continue to be so in the future. I am confident that the people of Boston, as well as bookmen all over the country, take pride in the treasures of the Boston Public Library; and I shall be happy if my gift animates such an interest, and encourages others to follow the example."

Indeed, most of the great rare book collections of the Library were received as donations or deposits. In the early days of the institution, George Ticknor gave his matchless collection of Spanish literature, together with a trust fund for its upkeep; the Bowditch collection of mathematics and astronomy, again with a fund, was given by the heirs of Nathaniel Bowditch; the

Prince collection of Americana, one of the greatest of its kind, was deposited by the trustees of the Old South Church, as was later the library of President John Adams by the Supervisors of the Adams Temple and School Fund. For the Barton collection of English literature, including one of the richest groups of Shakespeareana and Elizabethan books, the Library paid only a nominal sum. Mellen Chamberlain gave a collection of historical manuscripts, the hoardings of a lifetime. And similarly there have been gifts and trust funds for the collections of Americana, modern literature, the history of the theater, and so on. An extremely fine collection of Books of Common Prayer and a princely trust fund for the purchase of books of permanent value and use were bequeathed by Josiah H. Benton, a former President of the Board and the greatest benefactor in the history of the Library. The accumulated interest of the Benton Fund made it possible some twelve years ago, when the fund first became available, to round out the collections of medieval manuscripts and incunabula, Americana, English literature, and many others.

The Library has suffered, as have all public libraries, from the keen competition which college and university libraries have increasingly offered in attracting such donations. In the past half-century, but particularly in more recent years, many academic libraries have formed rare book departments, and it has been a well-recognized tendency on the part of alumni to direct their benefactions towards their *alma mater* — a tendency, to be sure, with which no one can quarrel. Yet the Boston Public Library deserves a continued and more than local interest, for, by virtue of its existing treasures, it is in many respects a national institution, the services of which are extended to scholars throughout the country and even abroad. Requests for research came to the Rare Book Department last year from thirty-five states of the Union, as well as from England, France, Spain, Canada, the Philippines, and a number of Latin-American countries.

The city of Boston, of course, derives primary benefits from these great collections. The exhibits in the Treasure Room bring the rare books and manuscripts of the Library to the attention of the public, and classes from high schools and colleges as well as

groups of craftsmen and book-lovers receive from them much pleasurable instruction. A public library can make its resources available more liberally, and to a wider range of people, than can a private institution.

Here are a few notes on Mr. Friedman's generous donation:

THE most interesting of the eighteenth-century items is a copy of Henry Fielding's *Tom Jones*, "that exquisite picture of human manners," which, as Gibbon prophesied, "will survive the palace of the Escorial and the imperial eagle of the house of Austria." The work was published on February 28, 1749, in six volumes, by A. Millar, "over-against Catharine-Street in the Strand." Fielding dedicated it to George Lyttleton, a former schoolmate of his at Eton and then one of the Commissioners of the Treasury, to whom, he wrote, he owed his existence "during great part of the time" he was composing the novel. The Table of Contents of the six volumes occupies forty-six pages; then comes a page of "errata," listing some sixty mistakes, but covering only the first five volumes. The title-page carries the motto "*Mores hominum multorum vidit*" — "He saw the ways of many men" — the briefest and best description of the hero's experiences.

The sale was so fast that the publisher, as he stated in an advertisement, was unable to get sets bound rapidly enough to answer the demand; copies in paper covers were offered at a cheaper price: sixteen shillings a set instead of a guinea. It must have been this haste which prevented the printer from correcting the errors in the sixth volume; in fact, work had started by then on the second edition. In the latter, the errors were corrected and the page of "errata" was suppressed, the Table of Contents being spread out to fill its place. The publisher tried to make the second edition look exactly like the first; the number of pages was the same, but the compositors did not always succeed in reproducing the original pages, so that there are hundreds of variations. Frederick S. Dickson, in his edition of Thomas Keightley's biography of Fielding, noted more than a hundred of these. However, the sheets of the two editions are often found mixed in the same set; only a de-



tailed examination can determine the nature of a copy. Such an examination has been made in the present case, and it shows that the set, with the exception of the second volume, belongs to the first edition. The title-page of the first volume, too, is of the second edition, as it lacks the period after the motto.

The second edition was published on April 13, 1749; and on the same day a third edition appeared in four volumes. Within a few years the book was translated into French, German, and several other languages.

Printed in 1798, the *Lyrical Ballads* is technically an eighteenth-century book; but in every other respect it belongs to the nineteenth century. It is a landmark which separates the old poetry from the new. The volume contains the first printing of "The Ancient Mariner," and three other poems by Coleridge, and also the first printing of "The Idiot Boy," "We Are Seven," "Lines Written a Few Miles above Tintern Abbey," and sixteen other pieces by Wordsworth. In an "Advertisement" Wordsworth remarked that the majority of the poems were to be considered as experiments. "They were written," he stated, "chiefly with a view to ascertain how far the language of conversation in the middle and lower classes of society is adapted to the purposes of poetic pleasure." He recognized that readers accustomed to "the gaudiness and inane phraseology" of many current writers might find the poems strange and awkward, and "look round for poetry"; he suggested, however, that they should ask themselves whether the book contained "a natural delineation of human passion, human characters, and human incidents." In his famous preface to the 1800 edition he further elaborated these comments into an artistic creed, particularly suited to his own poetry. Coleridge, in his *Biographia Literaria*, remembered their goal somewhat differently. While admitting that some of the poems were to have "subjects chosen from ordinary life," he spoke at greater length of the other class of poems in which "the incidents and agents were to be in part at least supernatural, and the excellence aimed at was to consist in the interesting of the affections by the dramatic truth of such emotions as would naturally accompany such situations, supposing them real" — a statement applying much more closely to his own contributions.

LYRICAL BALLADS,

WITH

*A FEW OTHER POEMS.*

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR J. & A. ARCH, GRACECHURCH-STREET.

1798.

*Title-Page of the First London Edition*



The origin of the volume was more simple. In the summer of 1797 Coleridge was living at Nether Stowey, near Bristol, while Wordsworth and his sister took a house at Alfoxden, three miles away. On a walking trip in November, the two young poets decided to compose a ballad which they might sell for five pounds to Joseph Cottle, Coleridge's friend and publisher, and thus defray their expenses. The project grew into the *Lyrical Ballads*, which finally appeared in September 1798. Five hundred copies were printed, but within a fortnight Cottle sold the whole edition to the London booksellers J. and A. Arch, who furnished a new title-page bearing their own imprint. The book received fairly favorable notices, with the exception of Robert Southey's review, which ridiculed "The Ancient Mariner" as "a Dutch attempt at German sublimity."

Copies of the *Lyrical Ballads* with the Bristol imprint are extremely rare. But even this issue underwent a certain transformation. In its original state it included the poem "Lewti; Or, the Circassian's Love Chant," first printed in the *Morning Post* for April 13, 1798, and known to have been by Coleridge. Since the volume was to be published anonymously, at the last moment the poets decided to omit the poem and substitute Coleridge's "The Nightingale" instead. Unfortunately, "Lewti" occupied three leaves only, whereas "The Nightingale" required four. Two pages, therefore, were ignored in the pagination; p. 69 is followed by a blank page, and the next poem, "The Female Vagrant," begins on an unnumbered page. Next, the poets cancelled leaf G1, containing pages 97-98, inserting a new leaf on which the line "Than fifty years of reason" was changed to "Than years of toiling reason" and the title of the poem "Simon Lee" was condensed by the omission of the line "With an incident in which he was concerned." All these changes occurred in the Bristol issue. There are only a few copies of the London edition which retain the cancelled leaf — and the copy now presented to the Library is one of these. It is the Hoe copy, bound in the original brown calf, with gilt decoration around the edges.

The *Lyrical Ballads* is undoubtedly the most valuable item in the group. Apart from its rarity, the book is coveted as a literary treasure; and one should note that its version of "The

Ancient Mariner" (still spelled "The Ancyent Marinere") includes ten stanzas which Coleridge entirely discarded from later editions. The Library, which has long felt the desirability of a copy, is especially glad to have the volume — and have it in such splendid condition.

SHELLEY was twenty when he wrote *Queen Mab*, his first long poem, and the most controversial of all his works. In August 1812 he sent a few cantos of it to Thomas Hookham, the London publisher, stating that he was going to write about six more, and that "the Past, the Present, and the Future are the grand and comprehensive topics of this poem." He finished the work by the following February, adding at that time the explanatory notes, which occupy about as much space as the poem itself. Hookham was afraid to publish the work, which appeared in May 1813 as "Printed by P. B. Shelley, 23 Chapel St., Grosvenor Square." The book, however, was not offered for sale, and Shelley distributed only a few dozen of its two hundred and fifty copies.

*Queen Mab* has been described as a socialistic and irreligious gospel. The poet, steeped in the writings of Voltaire, d'Holbach, Condorcet, and Godwin, and of Lucretius, Bacon, and Spinoza, blamed the misery of mankind on tyranny and priestcraft; he expressed the *philosophes'* view of history, together with their unbounded belief in the perfectibility of man and the progress of mankind. How deeply Shelley felt his poem may be seen from the fact that he named his daughter Ianthe after the mortal to whom *Queen Mab* addresses her reflections. The book was condemned for its attacks on religion, and in 1817 was used as chief evidence against the poet in his suit for the custody of his children, as a work which "blasphemously derided the truth of Christian Revelation and denied the existence of God as Creator of the Universe." Yet *Queen Mab* remained unknown to the public until 1821, when William Clark brought out a surreptitious edition. By then Shelley had disowned the poem. "I have not seen this production for several years," he wrote from Pisa to Leigh Hunt's *Examiner*: "I doubt not but that it is perfectly worthless in point of literary composition;



and that in all that concerns moral and political speculation, as well as in the subtler discriminations of metaphysical and religious doctrine, it is still more crude and immature." While protesting that he was "a devoted enemy to religious, political, and domestic oppression," he regretted the publication, fearing that the book was "better fitted to injure than to serve the cause of freedom," and applied to Chancery for an injunction against the sale. Clark was subsequently brought before the court and sentenced to four months of imprisonment — not for the piracy, but for blasphemy.

The Library, which has a splendid copy (the Locker-Clawson copy) of the 1813 edition of *Queen Mab*, is glad to have now a copy of the 1821 edition. Clark, in fact, produced two issues, one in a somewhat larger format on fine white paper; the volume presented to the Library is of this issue. The 1821 edition differs from the one published by Shelley in that the numerous Greek, Latin, and French quotations in the notes are given also in English translation, and in that a few of the more aggressive passages are omitted. The mutilations occur on five or six pages of the poem, and in three or four of the notes. The copy contains the dedication to "Harriet \*\*\*\*\*."

Clark was sent to prison, but meanwhile Richard Carlile, another London printer, took hold of the sheets and, providing a new title-page with his own imprint, issued the book in both the complete and the censored forms in 1822. Within twenty years no less than fourteen editions appeared. The radicals, especially the Chartists, adopted the poem as one of their most effective propaganda weapons. The Victorians relegated *Queen Mab* to Shelley's juvenilia, but recent writers regard it, in spite of its shortcomings, as a work of genius.

Keats began his *Endymion* in April 1817 at Carisbrook, on the Isle of Wight, and, continuing at Canterbury, Hampstead, and Oxford, he finished it in November of the same year. During the following winter he was engaged in revising this poem of over four thousand lines, which in April 1818 was published by Taylor and Hessey in London. The first line, "A thing of beauty is a joy forever," has become proverbial; and the work abounds in passages of compactness and freshness found only in the great Elizabethans. Yet, on the whole, the poem is cha-

otic. Its chief theme, in the words of Sir Sidney Colvin, is "the passion of the human soul for beauty"; and, testing his own powers of invention, the poet embroidered his subject with an almost oriental luxuriousness, interweaving the myth of Endymion with those of Pan, of Venus and Adonis, of Alpheus and Arethusa, of Glaucus and Scylla, of Circe, of Neptune, and many more. "I think," Shelley remarked, "if he had printed about fifty pages of fragments from it, I would have been led to admire Keats as a poet more than I ought . . ." But Keats himself was sensible of the faults of the work, describing it in his preface as "a feverish attempt, rather than a deed accomplished."

Even so, the harshness of the critics was unparalleled. "The frenzy of the *Poems*," the review in *Blackwood's Magazine* stated, "was bad enough in its way; but it did not alarm us half so seriously as the calm, settled, imperturbable drivelling idiocy of *Endymion*." It spoke of Keats as "only a boy of pretty abilities"; reminded him that it was "a better and wiser thing to be a starved apothecary than a starved poet"; and advised him to go back to "plasters, pills, and ointment boxes." It was probably written by John G. Lockhart, the future son-in-law of Sir Walter Scott. The tone of the *Quarterly Review* was not much better. It attacked Keats as a disciple of the "Cockney School of Poetry," as a mere copyist of Leigh Hunt, only "more unintelligible, almost as rugged, twice as diffuse, and ten times more tiresome and absurd than his prototype."

The poet feigned indifference. "Praise or blame," he wrote, "has but a momentary effect on a man whose love of beauty in the abstract makes him a severe critic on his own works. My own domestic criticism has given me pain without comparison beyond what *Blackwood's* or *The Quarterly* could possibly inflict." But inwardly he was bleeding. His friend, Benjamin R. Haydon, the artist, testified that the effect of the reviews on Keats was very bad. "He became morbid and silent," he recalled; "would call and sit whilst I was painting, for hours, without speaking a word." And in his diary he added that the poet "flew to dissipation as a relief, which, after a temporary elevation of spirits, plunged him into deeper despair than ever; for six weeks he was scarcely sober." In the preface to his *Adonais*, Shelley attributed the poet's death to these savage

criticisms. "The agitation thus originated," he wrote, "ended in a rupture of a blood-vessel in the lungs. Rapid consumption ensued, and the succeeding acknowledgments from more candid critics of the true greatness of his powers were ineffectual to heal the wound thus wantonly inflicted." But the charge only made the *Blackwood's* people more venomous; they parodied the *Adonais* under the title "Elegy On My Tom Cat," abusing the dead poet with depraved cynicism.

There are two issues of the first edition of *Endymion*, the first containing a single line of "erratum," and the second, five lines of "errata." The Library has a remarkable copy of the second issue, in the original brown boards, with the words "From the Author" in Keats's handwriting on the title-page; however, the copy now received is of the first issue. It is a beautiful, large volume, bound in crushed blue morocco.

LAMB'S first Elia essay, "The South-Sea House," appeared in the August 1820 issue of the new *London Magazine*; and the rest were contributed to the same periodical, at the rate of at least one a month, until December 1822. The papers attracted wide attention, and the shy author, beloved by his friends but little known to the public, suddenly became a celebrity. In a letter to the publisher — the same John Taylor who issued Keats's *Endymion* — Lamb explained his *nom de plume*. Elia, he wrote, was a fellow clerk of his at the South-Sea House some thirty years before. "Doubting how he might relish certain descriptions in it [the first essay], I clapt down the name of Elia to it, which passed off pretty well, for Elia himself added the function of an author to that of scrivener, like myself." To laugh with Elia over the usurpation of his name, Lamb went to visit him, but found that he had died of consumption eleven months before. It is believed that Lamb had in mind Felix Elia, who in 1799 published a romance called *Norman Banditti, or the Fortress of Constance*. The first series of the essays, which included "Imperfect Sympathies," "Grace Before Meat," "The Praise of Chimney-Sweepers," "A Dissertation Upon Roast Pig," and other famous pieces, was published in the spring of 1823 by Taylor and Hessey. Soon afterwards, a second issue

appeared with a half-title added to the title-page. The *London Magazine* ceased publication by the end of 1826, and some of Lamb's later papers appeared in the *New Monthly* and the *Englishman's Magazine*. In 1833 Edward Moxon brought them out, in the format and typography of the first volume, under the title *The Last Essays of Elia*.

The Library already had a magnificent copy of the Elia essays — one which once belonged to Wordsworth, whose signature is on the fly-leaf. The first volume has the poet's pencilled comment on "Grace Before Meat": "This article is bad — very bad. The subject is sacred whatever peoples habits may be." Yet the copy of the first volume now presented to the Library is very desirable, for it is in the original brown boards. Both copies have the half-title.

There are four Tennyson items in the lot — *Poems, By Two Brothers*, 1827, *Poems, Chiefly Lyrical*, 1830, *Poems*, 1833, and *Poems*, 1842. The *Poems, By Two Brothers* is now a very rare book. Tennyson was not yet eighteen when it was printed by J. and J. Jackson at Louth in Lincolnshire. His brother Charles — the later Charles Tennyson-Turner — was only a year older. "The following poems," the advertisement stated, "were written from the ages of fifteen to eighteen, not conjointly, but individually." In the manuscript each poem was signed by initials; these, however, were later omitted. The volume appeared anonymously; as the younger brother wrote to the printer, "'Charles and Alfred Tennyson' in London would not be taken any more notice of than no signature at all." True enough, the volume passed unnoticed. The larger number of its one hundred and two poems were by Alfred, and the rest by Charles, with the exception of four — one of them was "The Oak of the North" — which were contributed by a third brother, Frederick, then in his twentieth year. "No doubt," the young poets acknowledged, "if submitted to the microscopic eye of periodical criticism, a long list of inaccuracies and imitations would result from the investigation." On the title-page they printed Martial's line "Haec nos novimus esse nihil" ("We know these efforts are worth nothing") — as did Edgar Allan Poe at the end of the preface to his *Tamerlane* in the same year in Boston. The volume is imitative; none of the brothers included any of



DEALINGS WITH THE FIRM  
OF  
DOMBEY AND SON,  
Wholesale, Retail and for Exportation.

BY  
*Charles Dickens.*



LONDON.  
BRADBURY & EVANS. BOUYERIE STREET.  
1848.

*Title-Page of the Original Edition of Dombey and Son in Parts*





the poems in their later collections. Yet it would be a mistake to dismiss it entirely. Headed by quotations from Virgil, Horace, Terence, and a wide variety of other writers, including Shakespeare, Milton, Racine, Rousseau, Burke, Moore, and Byron, the majority of the poems are variations on their themes, affording the authors a wide range for excursions in both geography and history. The versification is often surprisingly good, nor are the contents always hackneyed.

The *Poems, Chiefly Lyrical* reflects the rapid development which Tennyson achieved at Cambridge. "Claribel," "Oriana," "Recollection of the Arabian Nights," and "Ode to Memory" are among its best. The "Ode to Memory," described as "written very early in life," must have been ready at the time of the *Poems, By Two Brothers*, from which the poet is known to have excluded his more individual pieces. Without taking his degree, Tennyson left Cambridge in 1831, returning to his unhappy home at Somersby. His father soon died, but the family remained in their house, the Rectory, for the next five years. It was in this Lincolnshire village that Tennyson composed most of the poems which made up the 1833 volume. "The Lady of Shalott," "The Miller's Daughter," "Oenone," "The Palace of Art," and "A Dream of Fair Women" are in the volume, presenting the poet at a far greater maturity of his powers. Critics were not favorable to Tennyson; Leigh Hunt praised him, but *Blackwood's Magazine* treated him with almost as much brutality as it had Keats before. The poet's sensitiveness may account for his silence for nearly ten years. Finally the two volumes of the *Poems* of 1842 — including "Locksley Hall," "Morte d'Arthur," "Sir Galahad," and "Vision of Sin" — established him, next to the aged Wordsworth, as the greatest English poet of the day. Within a few years the book reached several editions. In 1850, the year of the publication of *In Memoriam*, Tennyson succeeded Wordsworth as poet-laureate.

All four items are of the first edition. *Poems, By Two Brothers* is of the large paper issue, bound in red levant morocco by Rivière. The *Poems* of 1842 is bound in brown calf, bearing on each side the arms of Francis Darby of Colebrookdale, a member of the Shropshire iron works dynasty founded by Abraham Darby at the end of the seventeenth century.

THE bibliographies of Dickens and Thackeray are complicated affairs, for, as is generally known, these great Victorian novelists originally published most of their works in monthly installments before printing them in book form. These "parts," issued in green, blue, or brown wrappers, usually carried numerous advertisements, printed in full sheets or on inserted slips. Each of these constitutes a "point," and collectors insist on their presence. John C. Eckel's bibliography was a reliable guide for Dickens until the more complete work of Thomas Hatton and Arthur H. Cleaver superseded it; and similarly, Thackeray's novels must be checked against the compendious list of Henry Sayre Van Duzer. Even more important than the advertisements are the illustrations — steel engravings and woodcuts, which were often mixed with lithographs. It takes a real expert to detect the state, and appraise the quality, of these reproductions. It goes without saying that there are many misprints and broken types to identify the earliest copies.

Mr. Friedman's gift includes four of the great Dickens novels. The first is *Dombey and Son*. "Began Dombey: I performed this feat yesterday — only wrote the first slip — but there it is, and it is a plunge straight over head and ears into the story . . .," the novelist breathlessly reported to John Forster in June 1846. Shortly afterwards, he outlined the plot, informing his friend that he would slay little Paul at the end of the fifth number. The boy's death caused veritable mourning in England. At the end Dickens justified it to his readers: "If any of them have felt a sorrow in one of the principal incidents on which this fiction turns, I hope it may be a sorrow of that sort which endears the sharers in it, one to another. This is not unselfish in me. I may claim to have felt it, at least as much as anybody else; and I would fain be remembered kindly for my part in the experience." One of the installments turned out to be two pages short, and as there was no time for further correspondence, Dickens, then residing in Paris, boarded the diligence and was at once on his way to London to supply the needed copy. At other times when the manuscript turned out to be too long, he asked Forster to cut it according to his best judgment.

The illustrations gave Dickens no end of trouble. *Hablôt*

Knight Browne, better known as "Phiz," did the engravings, but by no means always to the author's satisfaction. Dickens was particularly "distressed" by the cut of Mrs. Pipchin and Paul. "It is so frightfully and wildly wide of the mark," he complained to Forster. "Good Heaven! In the commonest and most literal construction of the text, it is all wrong. She is described as an old lady, and Paul's 'miniature arm-chair' is mentioned more than once. He ought to be sitting in a little arm-chair down in the corner of the fireplace, staring up at her. I can't say what pain and vexation it is to be so utterly misrepresented. I would cheerfully have given a hundred pounds to have kept this illustration out of the book." It is safe to say that without the novelist's comment the reader would hardly discover the difference. Collectors watch the plate "On the Dark Road," in the eighteenth number; if it is good, the other thirty-nine plates are supposed to be also desirable.

The copy now presented to the Library — which heretofore lacked the first edition of the work — is in very fine condition. The majority of the parts agree in every detail with the description of the Hatton-Cleaver bibliography. Only in the first, fourth, sixth, twelfth, and last number are a few advertisements lacking; however, the "errata" leaves show that the printing is of an early state.

*Bleak House*, which appeared between March 1852 and September 1853, closely followed *David Copperfield*, and was even more popular. Dickens's attack on the abuses in the Courts of Chancery met with keen sympathy throughout the country. Of the first number, thirty thousand copies were sold, and the figure soon leaped to forty thousand. Phiz designed its forty plates, ten of them in two sets. These latter are the so-called "dark plates." They were produced by a newly invented method: the steel was first ruled with fine lines, and the design was etched over these; after that, the effect of light and shadow was heightened by the process of "stopping-out." Copies in which dark plates occur are considered especially desirable. In part nine, in the seventeenth plate, "Visitors to a Shooting Gallery," Phiz made the mistake of depicting Grandmother Smallweed instead of the fair Judy. The plate had to be cancelled and remade; the tenth number therefore contained three

plates, instead of the customary two. Again, the parts carried a vast number of advertisements. Each issue had sixteen to twenty pages of "Bleak House Advertiser," mostly about new books; then there were Norton's Camomile Pills, recommended for stomach complaints or indigestion; Allsopp's Pale or Bitter Ale, with testimonials from scores of famous doctors and professors; Infants' Restoratives; and, most important of all, guaranteed cures for gout and rheumatism. Almost every issue had slips advertising Dickens's *Household Words* and Marsland & Co.'s Crochet Cotton with patterns for mats, doilies, and macassars. As a careful collation shows, the copy presented to the Library has all the "points"; only the crochet cotton slip gives some trouble. Since the Library has had only the American edition of the work, the set is a welcome addition.

Dickens's next novel, *Little Dorrit*, was, like the *Pickwick Papers*, an attack on imprisonment for debt. Instead of the Fleet, the Marshalsea was the scene of a considerable part of the novel. The first number appeared in December 1855. Dickens was exultant. "Little Dorrit has beaten even Bleak House out of the field," he wrote to Forster. "It is a most tremendous start, and and I am overjoyed at it." And after the completion of the work he stated: "In the preface to Bleak House I remarked that I had never had so many readers. In the preface to its next successor, *Little Dorrit*, I have still to repeat the same words." Yet the novel has been criticised as not up to the best talents of its author; Forster thought that there was a "want of ease and coherence" among the characters. Of the forty plates, seven were duplicated by the new method, and there was also an eighth "dark" plate without duplication. As before, a multitude of advertisements went with each part. The Library already has a copy, but its parts are bound in two volumes, with the advertisements lumped together at the end. The copy now received is all but perfect.

*Little Dorrit* was Dickens's last book published by Bradbury & Evans; Chapman & Hall were his publishers for nearly everything he wrote afterwards. In the next few years appeared *A Tale of Two Cities*, and then *Great Expectations*; *Our Mutual Friend*, of which the gift includes a copy, was issued in regular monthly installments between May 1864 and November 1865.



There were again forty illustrations, but this time they were woodcuts, designed by Marcus Stone and engraved by Dalziel and W. T. Green. The novel was very popular, although Dickens wrote it under adverse circumstances, harrassed by illness and once shaken up by a railroad accident.

**T**HACKERAY is represented by two novels, *The Newcomes* and *The Virginians*, both in twenty-four monthly numbers, with full-page illustrations as well as elaborate initials and tail-pieces by Richard Doyle. The first issue of *The Newcomes* appeared in July 1853, and the last in June 1855. Thackeray, as was his wont, was pessimistic from the start. "I can't but see it as a repetition of past performances," he wrote to his mother, adding, "One of Dickens's immense superiorities over me is the great fecundity of his imagination." Yet the novel turned out well; Colonel Newcome, for whom Thackeray's step-father served as a model, is one of the most attractive figures in English fiction. When told by an American friend that the Colonel was constructed from memories of Don Quixote and Sir Roger de Coverley, the novelist quickly acquiesced. "I tried to make him a creation of my own," he said, "but I was conscious all the while that my beloved heroes were blending in my mind." One of the characters refers to the time "when Mr. Washington headed the American rebels with a courage, it must be confessed, worthy of a better cause." The sentence caused some excitement in America, which was reported in the *London Times*. Thackeray replied with a lengthy explanation. He was talking, he wrote, about '76, which could hardly be an issue to 1853. "I think," he ended, "the cause for which Washington fought entirely just and right, and the Champion the very noblest, purest, bravest, and best of God's men."

The steel- and wood-engravings by Doyle, for long one of the chief contributors to *Punch*, are extremely successful. Thackeray, himself no mean artist and frequently an illustrator of his own books, was a close friend of "Dicky" Doyle, whose talents he regarded highly.

*The Virginians*, the first part of which was published in November 1857, was written after Thackeray's American tour.

While here, he visited Fredericksburg and other places in Virginia, to saturate himself in the atmosphere. However, no more than one-fifth of the book is occupied with the American scene. Harry and George Esmond, the two grandsons of Henry Esmond, who came over with their mother to take possession of the family estate, are the heroes, fighting on opposite sides in the Revolutionary War; but it is their adventures in English society that constitute the main events of the novel. Thackeray, often ill, had great difficulty in getting the work under way. "What a horribly stupid story I am writing," he exclaimed to a friend, "no incident, no character, no go left in this dreary old expiring carcass." Unfortunately, some of the critics shared his opinion. "I hear," he observed to Douglas Jerrold, "that you have said *The Virginians* is the worst novel I ever wrote." "You are wrong," the famous author of *Black-eyed Susan* replied, "I said it was the worst novel anybody ever wrote." Yet the work was popular, especially in America. George W. Curtis wished that the author could have seen "the eager circle of children, old men, and maidens" who listened to the monthly parts "with shouts of merriment and sometimes even a tear." The forty plates and the many initials and tail-pieces which adorn the novel were designed by Thackeray himself.

One should not overlook the first-edition copy, in the original pink boards, of *The Kickleburys on the Rhine*, signed by "Mr. M. A. Titmarsh," Thackeray's Christmas book for 1850, illustrated with fifteen full-page drawings by him. It is a satire on the manners of Englishmen abroad; however, this delightful literary oddity was damned by the *Times*, which considered it as "the rinsings of a void brain after the more important concoctions of the expired year."

The novels of Disraeli — and he wrote nearly a dozen — are little known today. Yet they were widely read in the 1830's and 1840's; and at least two of them, *Coningsby* and *Sybil*, deeply influenced the course of English politics. A first-edition copy of *Sybil*, published in three volumes in 1845, is included in Mr. Friedman's gift (as are two of the later works, *Lothair* and *Endymion*, respectively of 1870 and 1880). Its sub-title is "The Two Nations"; and it is precisely the division of the people of England into the rich and the poor that is the subject of the novel.

No one before had painted the degradation of the agricultural laborers and factory workers in such stark colors and with so much factual realism. In Walter Gerard, one of the leaders of the Chartists, and in the Earl of Marney, the ultra-reactionary landlord, Disraeli created flesh-and-blood representatives of the opposing forces, while in Charles Egremont, brother of the Earl, he delineated the figure of the true progressive. The task of the Crown was, according to him, to protect the people against the oligarchy; and in the alliance of the masses with the right-minded aristocracy he envisioned the program of the Young England Party. His "Tory democracy" Disraeli based upon the theories of Bolingbroke, whom he eloquently defended in several chapters. *Sybil* is eminently a novel of ideas, and a very brilliant one; but beyond this, it is also an excellent story, which holds one's interest throughout — as the present writer, who has just read it, may testify.

Only three more volumes will be mentioned, mainly for their fine bindings. The first is a copy of Giorgio Baglivi's *De Praxi Medica*, printed in two volumes in Rome in 1702. Baglivi was a famous experimental physician, a disciple of Bacon, who fought against the superstitious prejudices of his profession. The work was bound for Pope Clement XI, whose richly gilded coat-of-arms is engraved on each side. The center has a fess between a mullet of six points and triple mound at the base; at the top is a papal tiara, and at the sides are cinctures hanging. The second book is the *Principes de la Piété Chrétienne* by Blaise Monestier, printed, also in two volumes, at Toulouse in 1756. Monestier, a Jesuit Father, bitterly opposed the Encyclopedists, particularly d'Holbach. The book was bound in red morocco for Louis XV, whose coat-of-arms, with three fleur-de-lis in the center and a crown at the top, embellishes each side. And finally, there is a Latin translation of the first nine cantos of Klopstock's *Messiah*, published in 1770, and bound for Napoleon. It is doubtful if the Emperor ever found the time, or the inclination, to read the German epic, especially in Latin; but there is his coat-of-arms, with the spread-eagle surrounded by an imperial toga.

All the books contain Mr. Friedman's book-plate: the seven-branched candlestick of the Tabernacle, with the mottoes "Veritas" below and "To thine own self be true" above.

# Alcott's Search for the Child

By SHERMAN PAUL

**A**LTHOUGH he outlived his contemporaries and at last became the "dean" of the Concord School, Bronson Alcott still had difficulties in practicing his transcendental vocation. It was bad enough in the 1830's, when the divinity of Jesus was hotly disputed, to exalt the teacher's profession by proposing that he make Jesus his model and the Gospel his text. Bad enough to propose; more so, when this pedagogue from Connecticut, who believed that "nothing is complete until it is enacted," set about for the better part of a decade to put his ideas in practice. If Boston welcomed him at first, if his salary in the years before the depression of 1837 sometimes reached that of the minister, he was ostracized at last and nearly mobbed, forced to sell all the fine furnishings of his school including his books, and reduced to a penury of spirit, in which he lamented, "I am an Idea without hands. I find no body for my thought amidst the materials of this age."<sup>1</sup>

This was the crisis of his life. "The untimeliness of genius," he wrote in retrospect, "is the tragedy of life . . ." For in the spiritual economy of the transcendentalist, inspiration was incomplete and self-realization as well as social usefulness impossible without the materials for their expression. Never again to teach a children's school was more severe than the failure at Fruitlands. The first volume of his *Conversations with Children on the Gospels*, the fruit of Alcott's experiments and method, appeared in the year of Emerson's *Nature* and for the most part was favorably noticed. But by 1838, after the publication of the second volume in which birth was discussed, Alcott became a victim of the press, more scurrilously denounced than Emerson for his *Divinity School Address*, because the immediate charge was indecency, not infidelity. Unlike Emerson, Alcott could not do what Emerson decided was best for himself. He could not "leave the impractical world to wag its own way, and sit apart and write . . . oracles for its behoof."<sup>2</sup> And Emerson knew this, having noted in his Journal after one of Alcott's early visits that



"His book is his school, in which he writes all his thoughts."<sup>3</sup>

More than Emerson, and more than Thoreau with his private experiment in the "higher society" of Walden, Alcott was a social man whose gifts were graciousness and conversation, whose materials were men, women, and children, and whose interests were practical and ameliorative. Like his Concord friends, he was wholly concerned with spiritual regeneration, but his faith in education was proof that he believed in more immediate means. In reply to Emerson's advice, he wrote in his Journal: "I desire to see my Idea not only a *written*, but a *spoken* and an *acted* Word — a Word Incarnate."<sup>4</sup> This realization of thought Alcott mastered in the teaching of children, who became his chief vehicle; and he oriented the transcendental philosophy, which he had discovered at the same time as Emerson, to this vocation.

Judged by his written word, even by the best of his *Orphic Sayings*, Alcott loses his force; for he was not so much man thinking as man teaching. However, in character, influence, steadfastness, and even in achievement, he was worthy of his great contemporaries. It is unfair to dismiss his adventure in idealism on the grounds that he was a poor provider, or to mock him by calling him the father of the author of *Little Women*. Instead, he was, as Emerson recognized, the embodiment of transcendentalism and, as Thoreau wrote in *Walden*, "the last of the philosophers . . . the man of the most faith of any alive."<sup>5</sup> And even Abigail May Alcott, who for so long paid the cost of her husband's fidelity to his ideas, would not have had him do otherwise. "Faith and persistency are life's architects," Alcott moralized in *Tablets*, and he had them abundantly. For how could he have justified himself otherwise, when, at the end of his life, he wrote opprobriously of "Such idlers as on others' earnings live"? He at any rate, was never an idler, and having an aim, labored in the lean years, wrote out his monumental diary,<sup>6</sup> and tried, in gardening and conversation, to yoke his idealism to "its harness of uses."

**M**ORE than any other American transcendentalist, Bronson Alcott took Wordsworth seriously: he enacted the philoso-



phy of the *Ode on Intimations of Immortality*. In his search for the object most closely corresponding to the divine, Alcott came by way of infant and elementary school teaching, his philosophical immersion at Germantown, and the study of the psychological behavior of his daughters, to a lifelong dedication to the child. Perhaps the popular conception of his innocence and naiveté expresses this devotion, for he was always able to enter easily the world of the child. Children were his fit audience, always welcoming the allegory of *Pilgrim's Progress*. He preferred them to carping adults: they mirrored for him the spiritual state that the adult had forfeited by contact with debasing material affairs.<sup>7</sup> In them, he sought a purity similar to that Thoreau saw reflected in Walden Pond.

But although Alcott appreciated Thoreau's employment, Walden would have been an inadequate symbol for him. Believing in the Plotinian "doctrine of lapse," he did not find in nature the highest expression of spirit. Nature, to him, was the furthest issue of spirit and an expositor of the divine mind, as it was for Emerson and Thoreau; but it was an imperfect expositor, in need of man's transforming energies. Nature was lapsed spirit, capable perhaps of reflecting in its objects the sensualism of lapsed man, but it was incapable of reflecting the highest ideas, those of divine purity and spirituality. "Nature," Alcott wrote, "does not contain the Personal man . . . [that is] the mind with the brute omitted . . . Nature is sufficient for the creature, but person alone for man, without whose immanency and inspirations, man were heartless and worshipless."

In contrast to Thoreau, Alcott desired to complete Nature "by converting the wild into the human," to fill out the improvisations of Nature with the arts of adornment and idealization. For this reason gardens and orchards seemed to him the "symbols of civility," the true humanization of Nature. They united man and Nature, not only to the end for which Thoreau went to Nature, but to the end that Nature herself became spiritualized. "By mingling his mind with nature," Alcott explained, "and so transforming the landscape into his essence. Man generates the homestead, and opens a country to civilization and the arts." The woods, once "melancholy and morose, standing in their loneliness," were to be "meliorated." For it was in gardens and or-

chards, not forests or cities, that for Alcott human history began: adorning his homestead, man made it the fitting place for the family, for the nurture of the Child. Going beyond Wordsworth, Alcott wrote:

Childhood is greater than Nature. It teemeth with Ideas for which Nature proffereth no image. It is above Nature — yea, above man — for yet unfallen, unbeguiled, it is an angel and enjoyeth the beatific countenance of the Celestial Father in Heaven — even the selfsame face that Nature doth but dimly shadow forth to the external sense!<sup>8</sup>

And he insisted that the true glory of the state was to maintain the pristine brilliance of this symbol, in which he saw the fulfillment of his life-long search — to discover in the untarnished mirror of the child his own untarnished self; to find in the child the image of the perfect and complete man, and the origin of the laws of thought. His work was, as he put it, "this chase of myself," a chase that all the transcendentalists undertook, some like Emerson in alter-egos and representative friends, some like Thoreau in Nature.<sup>9</sup>

**I**N spite of his constant idealism, Alcott experienced the dejection that Thoreau called decay. With him it was the inevitable lapse of adulthood. "Are we to be left orphans," he asked, "when taken from nature's arms, robbed of all that made life desirable before?" Are we to "despair of maintaining the virtues we espoused so eagerly in our youth?" Were the knowledge of sin and mature self-consciousness lapses "out of . . . paradise?" Not, he maintained, if we are "faithful to the beautiful vision" of children: "Children save us," he wrote.

But, as with Emerson and Thoreau, the former powers were to be saved by conscious endeavor, by the control of severe discipline. Alcott's case, when viewed out of this context, became the ludicrous failure to live on nuts and apples at Fruitlands. This Pythagorean asceticism was in reality an attempt "to cleanse" the body, to purify the soul through its instruments, to prepare himself for the self-renewal of communion with children. In the good gifts of children, he poetized, "we hopeful see / The fairer selves we fain would be." In the mysteries of childhood,

he believed, "he / Must live twice that would God's face see." Thus, Alcott came to believe that the process of inspiration was social, that lacking the schoolroom the family was the perfect sphere for its practice. At first merely an observer of the growth of his children, he soon saw in them the image for which he was seeking. It was his intention to take them to his native village, to his mother's. "There," he explained,

amidst the wilderness of Nature and the scenes of my own mind's formation, can I be to them, for a while, the father that I image in my Ideal. Childhood's young life would revisit me. Surrounded by the emblems of my germinating sentiments and fancies, I should bring forth that which, when distant, lieth latent in my being. I should return to the being as well as to the scenes of my childhood, and with theirs write off, in living words, types of the things and thoughts that quickened my being — the history of my own life — with theirs. The father shall be seen in the son's forming being; the language of his thoughts and sentiments, in the imagery that surrounds his paternal home.<sup>10</sup>

In his children — and in his homeward journey, which he made several times as he grew older — he had found the perfect symbols of his desires. The children became more than his language; by sympathizing with them, he was "reborn into the same blessed Kingdom that he hath not as yet died out of."

"Of the various media of Revelation," Alcott wrote, "the child is, perhaps, the most significant of all." The word "significant" had here all the weight of the transcendentalist's belief in correspondential meaning; and for Alcott the child represented all the "exponents" of creation: origin, growth, completion. "*The history of a child*," he thought, "including its inner as well as outer movements, with its relations both spiritual and material and the varying phenomena of the sensual and the supersensual — this would be a Revelation indeed . . ." In the life of Jesus he saw the history of the adult; and in the Gospels he found an example of a record of "both his inner and outer experience." But great as they were, to him these did not promulgate "the revelation of childhood" — "The 'eyes have not seen nor the hands yet handled the Word of God' as presented in infancy." And with characteristic assurance he added: "To the penning of this gospel, let me apply myself."<sup>11</sup>

His doctrine — leaving aside here his pre-psychoanalytic theories of genesis<sup>12</sup> — began in the child's oneness with both God and Nature, the extremes, he said, that fallen men had to rejoin. To "repossess" the idea of his own divinity, however, man had to use Nature. Here lapse was necessary in man's spiritual ascent, but only after he had regained the child's in-born gift of regarding "all outward things as emblems and exponents of its own inner being!" Then, he could "descend" into Nature and assume the burdens of its spiritualization. But unless he had repossessed his Idea he could not carry out this transcendental pilgrim's progress of subduing Nature to himself.

If man and Nature were one ideally, and if in his unfallen child-like state he was wed to Nature with "infinite sympathies," his lapse forced him out of the garden naked and alone and without the hope of renewal. Once the "Idea of Spirit dies out of the Consciousness," Alcott wrote, "Man is shorn of his glories." In language as full of horror as Edwards, he described the lot of the unregenerate:

Nature grows over him. He mistakes Images for Ideas, and thus becomes an Idolater. He deserts the Sanctuary of the Indwelling Spirit, and worships at the throne of the Outward.<sup>13</sup>

And this was the condition in which Alcott found his contemporaries. Having been starved of the sense of the beautiful in childhood, they wallowed in inevitable materialism: "the Divine Idea of a Man seems to have died out of our consciousness." There followed a low estimate of human nature, accounting for the want of great men and institutions, and, what was worse, a low estimate of the genius of the child. This genius Alcott regarded as "the prime endowment of humanity." But it was poorly cherished, blunted, and destroyed in bare and lifeless cities. No longer — he lamented — did men seek their salvation in the leadings of little children, but constraining their imaginations led them and themselves into the valley of despair.

He endeavored, therefore, to awaken a new sense of "the divinity of the child." He attempted to do what Margaret Fuller suggested in "The Great Lawsuit": "Could we give a description of the child that is lost, he would be found." *Conversa-*



*tions with Children* was his demonstration of what he had fervently recorded in *Psyche*, that to the "faithful observer of the celestial phenomena" the child is a "sign," that the "child is no fallen, but a pure angel." If he was at first a Lockean remedying the physical aspects of the schoolroom, his innovations had now been directed to spiritual culture: along with the introduction of writing desks, slates, and space for exercise, he had emphasized affection as a teaching principle. And if as an environmentalist he had put the blame for evil on conditions rather than on the nature of the child, it was not long after watching little Anna and Louisa that he saw the creative *élan* of the Coleridgean reason in their unfolding consciousness. He could no longer conceive of a "child's acquirements as originating in nature, dating from his birth into his body . . ."; he had come so far that to believe this was "an atheism."

**T**RAILING clouds of glory, the child came with the gifts of inspiration and imagination that the ageing transcendentalist realized he had once possessed freely and unconsciously, and now could have only rarely and at great cost. From an insight into this dilemma, he created his vision of, and the means for, social regeneration: if the world had not starved the child's imagination, if he had remained in Nature to which he sympathetically responded, his "essential humanity" would not have withered. Then the child would represent "the complete man," who easily spanned the heaven of inspiration, the mid-world of reason, and the earth of sense and fancy; and who was naturally disposed, in his symbolic use of Nature, to create an ideal world of them.

When driven from his "Temple" for practising this gospel, Alcott applied it to his own children; and having been balked by parental opposition, set out on his long pilgrimage to awaken in the adults a sense of human culture. The family became his ideal<sup>14</sup>; and Fruitlands was his experiment to plant a Family Order. He may have been a grand failure, but he was truly a father of little women.<sup>15</sup> Pure himself, and having in children the means of inspiration, he was sustained in his adventure in idealism, and had a right to write:



Not Wordsworth's genius, Pestalozzi's love,  
 The stream have sounded of clear infancy.  
 Baptismal waters from the Head above  
 These babes I foster daily are to me;  
 I dip my pitcher in these living springs  
 And draw, from depths below, sincerity;  
 Unsealed, mine eyes behold all outward things  
 Arrayed in splendors of divinity.  
 What mount of vision can with mine compare? . . .<sup>16</sup>

(First editions of Alcott's books have been placed on view  
 in the Treasure Room.)

## Notes

1. Quotations are numerous in this essay because the writer desired to reproduce Alcott's thoughts in his own words. References, however, will be given only for extracted passages.
2. *The Letters of Ralph Waldo Emerson*, ed. Ralph L. Rusk, New York 1939, II, 75.
3. *The Journals of Ralph Waldo Emerson*, ed. E. W. Emerson and W. E. Forbes, Boston 1909-1914, III, 559.
4. Cited in Dorothy McCuskey, *Bronson Alcott, Teacher*, New York 1940, 112.
5. *Walden and Other Writings*, ed. Brooks Atkinson, New York 1937, p. 240.
6. Alcott's diary, in fifty manuscript volumes, is owned by Mr. Frederic Wolsey Pratt of Concord. Odell Shephard published a selection in *The Journals of Bronson Alcott*, Boston 1938.
7. One reason Alcott preferred the West to the East was that in the West the audiences accepted him more freely, that is, in a more child-like manner.
8. *Psyche, or the Breath of Childhood*, Boston 1835-1836, 425-26. This is the first manuscript version, owned by Mr. Frederic Wolsey Pratt. Portions are printed in Kenneth W. Cameron's *Emerson the Essayist*, Raleigh, N. C. 1945, 2 vols.
9. Margaret Fuller seems to have shared Alcott's need for children although she did not erect a "system." See *Memoirs of Margaret Fuller Ossoli*, ed. by R. W. Emerson, W. H. Channing, J. F. Clarke, Boston, 1859, II, pp. 147, 272-273, 278, 293, 300, 301, 304, 334. Alcott, especially after meeting W. T. Harris, tried, I think, to systematize his thought in *Tablets* and *Concord Days*.
10. *Psyche*, 112.
11. Margaret Fuller records Alcott as saying: "Seeing that other redeemers have imperfectly fulfilled their tasks, I have sought a new way . . . They began with men; I will begin with babes. They began with the world; I will begin with the family. So I preach the Gospel of the Nineteenth Century." *Memoirs*, I, 171-72.

12. See *Tablets*, Boston 1868, 187 ff; and *James Freeman Clark*, ed. by E. E. Hale, Boston 1891, 2 for an example of the significance of Wordsworth's *Ode*. Clarke prefaces his account of his ancestry with: "Wordsworth's 'Ode on the Intimations of Immortality' contains a truth which our experience must confirm. The germs of all that we are begin to unfold in our childhood. Those shadowy recollections are the masterlights of our after-being. The truths which awake then never perish. The impressions then made on the soul underlie all others, and determine largely our future course."

13. *The Doctrine and Discipline of Human Culture*, Boston 1836, 21. Theodore Parker made a similar attack on sensationalism in *A Discourse of Matters Pertaining to Religion*, Boston 1842, 50-52, 451.

14. See also Margaret Fuller on this ideal in *Memoirs*, II, pp. 84, 121.

15. Margaret Fuller wrote that "He [Alcott] views this relation truly." *Memoirs*, II, p. 52.

16. *Sonnets and Canzonets*, Boston 1882, 69.

## The *Anarchiad* and the *Massachusetts Centinel*

By ABE C. RAVITZ

DURING the critical years of 1786-7 the conservative forces in American politics saw their position jeopardized by an increasing populism. Federalists of a literary turn soon rallied to defend the tenets of their party, and the most competent among them were the Connecticut Wits, who entered upon a collaborative work. The end result was *The Anarchiad*, "a New England poem," which is all but forgotten to-day.<sup>1</sup> The poem, written by Lemuel Hopkins, David Humphreys, Joel Barlow, and John Trumbull, was presented in a novel manner. It was supposed to be an ancient epic, "lately unearthed" by a Society of Connecticut Antiquarians, and "excerpts" were presented in a series of twelve papers entitled "American Antiquities" in *The New Haven Gazette and the Connecticut Magazine*. Included was a running prose commentary. Since the affairs of Anarch, the personification of black chaos, "were in so thriving a posture in Massachusetts and Rhode-Island,"<sup>2</sup> the authors concentrated their satiric efforts on these states, in order to present living examples of the evils of populism to the people of Connecticut.

Certainly Shays's Rebellion received little sympathy from the Boston press; but most vehement in the attack upon this march of debtors was Major Benjamin Russell's *Massachusetts Centinel*. With the publication of "American Antiquities, No. 1," a liaison was established between this newspaper and *The New Haven Gazette and the Connecticut Magazine*. The *Centinel* carried full reprints of each number of the satire and, in addition, published collateral material relating to the authors.

The very first number of the "Antiquities" saw David Humphreys and Lemuel Hopkins bitterly attack the rebels. In a "vision" of the troubled state of Massachusetts, a passage from *The Anarchiad* reveals this situation:

Chaos, Anarch old, asserts his sway,  
And mobs in myriads blacken all the way:

.....

O'er *Concord* fields the bands of *discord* spread,

.....  
Sweep their dark files, and shade with rags the plain.  
*Lo, the Court falls*; th'affrighted Judges run,

.....  
Law sinks before thy [Anarch's] uncreating word;  
Thy hand unbars th'unfathom'd gulph of fate,  
And deep in darkness whelms the new-born state.<sup>3</sup>

The number concluded with an invitation to "the several printers of Massachusetts" to republish the work. The *Centinel* reprinted "American Antiquities, No. 1" six days later, in an apparently successful venture. Shortly afterward, Russell used the satire as the basis for another "fair vision" of conditions in his state. Under the title of "Original Poetry" he printed some sixty lines of verse in his newspaper for December 6, 1786, among them:

Now clouds and darkness spread their loud alarms,  
And rouse the desp'rate to rebellious arms;  
Justice, her balance now resigns to fate;  
Discord and envy, discontent create . . .<sup>4</sup>

Russell dated these couplets "September, 1786," thus placing them a month ahead of the Humphreys and Hopkins effort. He also added a note stating that the poem was "mis-laid," thereby explaining the late insertion. Although no one can disprove Russell's claim concerning the date, one can seriously doubt the veracity of the statement. The idea of the "vision," the tonal quality, and the diction are identical in both pieces; the usage of the term "fate" is also the same in each. But what was the purpose behind the claim? The newspaper poets of the era were only too willing to document their sources, as Humphreys and Hopkins did, by acknowledging their indebtedness to Pope,<sup>5</sup> and it seems evident that the *Centinel* adapted the "Antiquities, No. 1" in order to provide more copy on this popular topic.

In late December 1786 *The Massachusetts Centinel* reprinted an article from the *London Times*, which vehemently denounced the economic situation in America and concluded that "the making of Paper Money a legal tender in the American States, is most evidently done to injure foreign creditors."<sup>6</sup> The Wits promptly took up the theme of foreign creditors in the fourth number of their satire. The debtors, according to them:

Sing choral songs while conq'ring mobs advance,  
And blot the debts to Holland, Spain, and France;

.....

Lo, the poor Briton, who, corrupted, sold,  
Sees God in courts, or hears him chink in gold,

.....

Tho' plagu'd with debts, with rage of conquest curst,  
In rags and tender-acts he puts no trust . . .?

Russell, of course, did not wait long before reprinting the "Antiquities, No. 4."

Two minor broadsides and two poems relating to *The Anarchiad*, and mentioning the poets by name, were reprinted in the *Centinel* soon afterwards.<sup>8</sup> Then, after reprinting Humphrey's poem on the "Genius of America," Russell reprinted a prose tract on the same subject from *The New Haven Gazette*. This included an extract from Barlow's *Columbiad* which was then "in the press" and which sang of Trumbull who "lead[s] the train," "daring" Dwight hailed by "the epick muse," and Humphreys, the "favorite" of Washington.<sup>9</sup> Furthermore, this article set forth the literary nationalism which probably provided the Wits with the germ of their treatment of the foreign critics of American achievement in "American Antiquities, No. 12." It stated that among the "literati" in Europe the idea had become prevalent that "almost every species of animal and vegetable life has degenerated by being transported across the Atlantick to this country."<sup>10</sup> And the final number of the "Antiquities" also deplored that the "learned sages" abroad found that "in this part of the globe the animal and vegetable creation are far inferior" and "that man has wonderfully degenerated" here.<sup>11</sup> Indeed the readers of the *Centinel* were able to keep in close touch with the activities of their favorite poets.

Russell also added his own footnotes to the *Centinel* reprints of "American Antiquities, No. 7 and No. 8." He hoped by them to clarify allusions that might prove obscure to Boston readers. He identified "Wronghead" as "one of the paper-money, anti-federal geniuses of Connecticut"; and described "Wimble" as "a person, whose political and moral character is supposed to bear a strong resemblance of William W-lli-ms, Esq. Chief Justice of the Court of Common Pleas . . . &c. &c. &c. &c." He also explained that "some of these enigmatical &c. mean an anti-



federal paper money man; pedantick blockhead, and other apelatives their inseparable attendants.”<sup>12</sup> These footnotes undoubtedly were fully approved of by the Hartford group, since they preserved the savor and purpose of their poem in remarkably fine fashion.

With the relaxation of events, the activity of the Wits fell off noticeably. Between April 5 and September 13, 1787, only the last four numbers of their work appeared. The Constitutional Convention at Philadelphia had cast a mood of sobriety over the poets — a temper evident in No. 10 of the series. Their relative inactivity seems to have disturbed Russell. His readers no doubt desired to see more of the writings of the Hartford group, and so he attempted to prod the poets on. In April he printed some octosyllabic couplets supposedly advising “a grieved politician” to wreak vengeance on his opponents:

But chiefly Hudibrastick writers,  
For they are found most valiant fighters,  
And wondrous deeds perform sometimes,  
By means of their satirick rhymes;  
Let these attack your honest foes  
With literary bangs and blows  
Expose their weakness and their folly,  
Their character, and name too fully,  
And if they have no faults or vice,  
You then must make it up with lies . . .<sup>13</sup>

As this bit of gentle pressure passed unheeded, Russell was back in three weeks with “Shays: A Rebel Eclogue,” which was introduced by a statement that “the following Eclogue appeareth to have been written during some particular period of the reign of Anarch, but hath long remained hidden from the eyes of the curious, insomuch that . . . the learned society of Antiquarians in Connecticut have said nothing thereupon. Could they throw some light upon this subject, great and manifold would be the obligations due them from all the lovers of polite letters.”<sup>14</sup> However, the “mob” had by then replaced Governor Bowdoin with John Hancock, who had promised to deviate from the harsh policy of his predecessor in his treatment of the rebels who were under control. To re-introduce the subject would have been foolish — a fact which the poets fortunately recognized.

Yet only eight days before the appearance of the last number of "American Antiquities," Russell printed a mock epistle from "Shays to Shattuck," in which the chief insurgent was made to say:

These evils (I speak with shame and contrition)  
 These flow from the sorrowful stream of sedition;  
 That stream, in description, to shew you aright,  
 Is a subject for Barlow, M'Fingal, or Dwight . . .<sup>15</sup>

It is even a subject for America's top painters, the verse goes on to tell. Perhaps the purpose behind this final shot was to instill a seed in one of the Wits that would eventually bear fruit in the form of a mock-epic on the Massachusetts insurrections.

## Notes

1. Luther G. Riggs (editor), introduction to *The Anarchiad*, New Haven, 1861.
2. "American Antiquities, No. 2" in *The New Haven Gazette and the Connecticut Magazine*, November 2, 1786.
3. *The New Haven Gazette and the Connecticut Magazine*, October 26, 1786.
4. *The Massachusetts Centinel*, December 6, 1786. The Boston Public Library has files of both *The New Haven Gazette and the Connecticut Magazine* and *The Massachusetts Centinel*.
5. Near the end of the first paper of *The Anarchiad*, the authors wrote that "the celebrated English poet, Mr. Pope, has proved himself a noted plagiarist, by copying the preceding ideas, and even the couplets almost entire into his famous poem called the Dunciad."
6. *The Massachusetts Centinel*, December 23, 1786.
7. *The New Haven Gazette*, January 11, 1787.
8. "New Year's Verse," January 10, and "The Newsboys — An Eclogue" on January 13, "The Soliloquy of Spectator," February 14, and "The Female Patriot," February 24.
9. *The Massachusetts Centinel*, February 10, 1787. The passage is from Book VIII of Barlow's work.
10. *Ibid.*
11. *The New Haven Gazette*, September 13, 1787.
12. *The Massachusetts Centinel*, April 4 and April 11, 1787.
13. *Ibid.*, April 25, 1787.
14. *Ibid.*, May 19, 1787. The work is signed "Antiquary."
15. *Ibid.*, September 5, 1787.

# Frank W. Benson, Painter and Etcher

By ARTHUR W. HEINTZELMAN

**F**RANK W. BENSON, famous internationally-known painter and etcher, a great leader in the artistic and educational fields of art, died on November 14, 1951, in his eighty-ninth year. His students, many of whom are noted artists today, and who addressed him as "Cher Maitre," and friends among artists, collectors, and connoisseurs on both sides of the Atlantic mourn his passing.

Mr. Benson's rich productive years and the breadth of his interests did much to create and perpetuate spiritual guidance to his fellow man through a life well lived. His love of beauty and nature, and his ability to record it, were gifts possessed by only a chosen few. His achievement was a tribute to three-score years of activity on canvas and copper which with needle and brush commemorate a lasting accomplishment, and has been recognized the world over. His work has found a permanent place in the museums and private collections of two continents.

Happily Mr. Benson lived to see his own work reach the zenith of full recognition. His part in the renaissance of engraving at the turn of this century is now established history. His prints of bird life embody the sound theories of a thorough artistic background supported by an extraordinary talent that placed him in the high esteem of his contemporaries. All who knew him well felt his sincerity, the depth of his sensitive aesthetic nature, and the inner strength of his convictions.

As a man and artist Mr. Benson stood out prominently against a background of troubled years of confusion and doubt which date from the first World War. His work emanated peace, poetry, spiritual beauty, and inspiration, which blended with his technical knowledge into a combination of rarest attainment.

A little over four years ago the Print Department of the Boston Public Library was chosen by Mr. Benson as the place he considered most suitable to deposit his personal collection



*"The Marsh Gunner," an Etching by Frank W. Benson*





permanently. He wished his life's work in etching and drypoint to fit in with the Library's pattern of a living collection, where his prints could be fully appreciated and play their part artistically as well as educationally with the contemporary masters of England and France. The collection of approximately 450 prints, states, and drawings, the most complete in existence, was acquired in July 1947. Since that time it has been studied constantly by students and collectors, and it has been in demand for exhibition purposes.

In studying this great collection one cannot but feel the knowledge and inspiration exercised in the creation of these fine plates, and the high quality of the interpretation of each individual subject. No other collection of Mr. Benson's work contains more beauty or brilliance in printing. The late plates, many of them masterly, possess the same youthful spirit that guided his hand in earlier experiments. His entrusting the Library with this unique collection is a tribute to its Print Department. The Library deems it an honor and a privilege to be custodians of this great artist's work, which will remain a living thesis through which he will speak to us as time progresses.

The prominent place held by Mr. Benson in the graphic arts has done much in securing for America recognition in the realm of contemporary prints. His plates are completely defined as an artistic medium. All manner of mediums and a combination of them are employed in new intentions and ideas. Individualism is nowhere more strongly indicated than in his work. He was always pure in both medium and composition, in contrast with the camouflage practice employed today both in execution and printing.

Frank Weston Benson was born at Salem, Massachusetts, on March 24, 1862. After completing his studies at the Salem High School, he enrolled in the School of Drawing and Painting of the Boston Museum of Fine Arts. After three years there he went to Paris, where he studied at the Académie Julien under Boulanger and Le Febvre. During his second year abroad he established a studio in the rue de Seine, dividing his time between study and creative work. Mr. Benson's first and important effort painted at Concarneau, Brittany, during his first summer in France, was exhibited at the Royal Academy in

London, in 1885. Returning to America, he settled in Salem, painting portraits and teaching at the Portland Society of Art. In 1888 he married Miss Ellen Peerson, the subject of his "Summer." From 1888 to 1912 he was instructor at the Boston Museum School of Drawing and Painting, later serving as visiting instructor. From then on Mr. Benson's rise to prominence was steady and secure. Many examples of his work, for which he was awarded almost all the academic honors that America could bestow, may be seen in the permanent collections of leading museums and private collections.

Although Mr. Benson's first experiments in etching were done while he was still a student in Boston in 1882, it was not until 1912 that he again took up his needle and the copper plate. A number of the first subjects were done from wash drawings in black and white, a medium in which he excelled, indicating an experiment in technique and showing the value of the etched line. His development in etching was very rapid, due partly to his experience in painting, and partly to his draftsmanship, in which he combined excellent technique with genuine feeling. His composition was often oriental in areas of spotting and spacing with ducks and geese flying in rhythmical form and pattern. It was the early study of the habits of these birds in Salem Harbor that enabled him to fuse the interest of the sportsman, artist, and connoisseur alike.

There is pure delight in the study of Mr. Benson's prints, in which one is able to study arrangements in simple and elusive technique. The varied approaches which he employed enabled him to capture all the possibilities of his subject. He was a master in the suggesting of space and height, so necessary for birds in rapid flight; and the rich greys and vibrant blacks of the birds themselves are so true to their surroundings that there is never a feeling of inanimation.

Mr. Benson made statements, in his drypoints of waterfowl particularly, that have never been made before, establishing him as a master-etcher. His ducks and geese are alert whether fluttering up from their resting places, swimming in formation, or silhouetted in beautiful pattern against the sky.

It was a privilege to look at many of these prints with the artist himself; his descriptions were word pictures as interest-

ing as the plate itself. The habits and haunts of the different species were known to him intimately whether mallard, wood duck, widgeon, yellowleg, teal, swan, drake, redhead, pintail, or bluebill. No wonder he could put them all in their proper settings, each an enchanting record of wild nature. The incidental landscapes and backgrounds are in perfect harmony with the birds' habits. One sees and feels this wild life set in the clearing of a new day, where the mists still hover about the water's surface; others in the very poetry of a fading afternoon; then there are those with sunlight over the shallows of a stream with reeds or groups of trees. One sees a heron standing alone reflecting its shadow among waterplants, and then the eye rests on proofs of wind and rain. Much time is spent on a favored print of Mr. Benson's entitled "Geese," with its perfection and beauty of flight, and on others that are nearly equally important in his mind.

To sum up, Mr. Benson's work reflects a sensitive appreciation of the great out-of-doors, by an artist who was ever conscious of nature's offerings. There have been many imitators, but none has had the ability to interpret his mind, or that almost spiritual gift which reflects the poetic quality of his artistry.

As one reflects on Mr. Benson, his fine personality and his great accomplishment in art, one questions one's ability to find adequate words for full expression of the inner thought; and, should the phrase be found, to suggest it, one lingers on it, at length wondering if the full meaning of his loss to us and the graphic art world has been fully expressed. The indefinable expressions of beauty, mystery, and spirit belonged to him. All who cherish fine prints, his friends, and those of us who knew our "Cher Maitre," believe that he will survive through his enduring gift, and that the world has become the richer through his having lived among us.

## Notes on Rare Books

### An Early German Carnival Play

THE Library has recently acquired Pamphilus Gengenbach's *Von ainem Waldbruder* ("About a Hermit") a copy of the second edition of the Carnival play first printed under the title *Der Nollhart*. The play was performed on Shrove Sunday of the year 1517 in Basel. The first edition was printed in the same city, presumably in Gengenbach's own printing house; the Library's volume was produced in 1522, without the author's name or the place, probably in Augsburg.

The title-page is filled with the woodcut of a hermit, whose up-raised arms hold two curling scrolls, bearing the exhortations "Keep brotherly love. Avoid selfishness. Love God. Love thy neighbor as thyself." In the background rises a forest, and the whole is surrounded by an ornamental border. This title-page appeared for the first time in the second edition; the woodcuts, however, which in the 1517 edition preceded the entrance of every character in the play, were omitted. The volume contains some unusual border decorations, flanking the text in the inner margins.

The *Waldbruder* is not a drama in the sense of possessing action or dramatic development, but rather a series of dialogues. From the long prologue one learns that in 1488 there appeared a book of prophecies "of great dangers and torment," and that the hermit is none other than the author of this book, who again reveals to the heads of Christendom the fate awaiting them. He is aided in the task of prophesying by St. Methodius, St. Birgitta of Sweden, and the Sibyl, who appear as interlocutors in the play. St. Methodius was a fourth-century bishop, who was martyred in Greece in the persecution under Maximian; St. Birgitta, the wife of a Swedish prince, became lady-in-waiting to the Queen of Sweden in 1335, and lived a life of penance after the death of her husband; and the Sibyl is probably the Cumaean Sibyl. The characters who come on the scene in turn to inquire anxiously about their futures are the Pope, the Emperor, the King of France, the Bishop of Mainz, the Count Palatine, a Venetian, a Turk, a Swiss, a soldier, and finally a Jew. The Pope, reproached by St. Birgitta for the evils in Rome, learns of the impending invasion by the French King. Only the Emperor fares well, and this is indeed the tendency of the work:



faith in the Holy Roman Empire and the urging of reform in the Church. St. Birgitta prophesies that the King of France will slay many Germans, but will be driven away at last by the Emperor, who will reign alone from Orient to Occident. St. Methodius informs the Turk that, when all Christendom will be at peace and the Church will be reformed, the punishment of the Turks will begin.

The volume is a quarto of 24 leaves, printed with Gothic type. The text, consisting of rhymed couplets in tetrameter, follows that of 1517, but with some modernization of the spelling. As the title had been changed, the name of *Waldbruder* or just *Bruder* was substituted for *Nollhart*, except in one place (leaf 11 r). Two lines, preceding the brief epilogue, "Apology of the poet Pamphilus Gengenbach," are also absent, in accordance with the anonymity of the edition. Further, the date 1517, mentioned in the text, had to be changed to 1521; and, since the death of the Emperor Maximilian had occurred in 1519, it was necessary to alter a prophecy about a future emperor from "he will be named Maximilian" to "he descends through God from Maximilian." This alteration is made by means of a cancel, the verse containing the new line being printed on a paper flap which covers the original text. Yet the theory that the printer used sheets left over from the first edition does not hold in view of the changes in the spelling; it seems, therefore, that this particular anachronism was overlooked and amended when the sheets were already printed.

Karl Goedeke, compiler of the bibliography *Grundriss zur Geschichte der deutschen Dichtung*, published in 1856 a reprint of the first edition of the work. At that time little was known about the life of Pamphilus Gengenbach beyond the fact that he was a citizen of Basel and a printer of books there between 1517 and 1522. Jacob Baechtold, in his *Geschichte der deutschen Literatur in der Schweiz*, 1892, insisted that Gengenbach came from Nuremberg, where he worked as type-setter for Anton Koberger, and migrated from there to Basel. Police records preserved in Basel show that, as late as 1522, Gengenbach had been put in jail for careless remarks about the Emperor, the King of France, and the Pope — the very characters who appear in the *Waldbruder*. But as a printer he must have been judicious, for between 1517 and 1519 one of his draftsmen was Hans Holbein.

Goedeke credited Gengenbach with twenty-four works of his own, but the authorship of some of these has been questioned. Nevertheless, a number of epic and dramatic poems are considered indubitably his, notable among them being *The Ten Ages of this*



*World*, also a Carnival play, with which the history of modern drama is said to have begun. Three years before his death in 1524, Gengenbach issued a reprint of Luther's *Sermo di Poenitentia*.

The *Waldbruder* was reprinted in 1525, and subsequently it appeared in a form considerably altered by Jacob Camerlander.

MARGARET MUNSTERBERG

### The Spirit of Young America

DURING the Civil War, as during all wars, children imitated their elders by playing at battles and soldiers; and the toy manufacturers and publishers produced a stream of books and playthings to suit their taste. The Library has recently acquired such a book — *The Spirit of Young America*, a rare juvenile published at Fall River, Massachusetts, by the Fall River Lithographic Company, in 1864. This little volume, 6 by 8 inches in colored paper covers, contains seven patriotic poems, illustrated by charming colored lithographs. The pictures show children dressed as soldiers and playing their parts: camping out, standing sentry, fighting battles, and so on, while the accompanying verses tell the moral and patriotic story of "Fred, the little Captain, who took no repose nor rest, till he became a Hero.."

The first plate, "The Exercise," shows Fred, in the costume of an officer, drilling three other soldiers with the help of a corporal. Here, as in the other plates, the children are dressed in a hodgepodge of Revolutionary, Civil War, and Napoleonic costumes. "The Marching Out" takes place the next day "in the first beams of the morning light." Fred is shown dividing his army into two parties and pointing out their stations. "The Outposts" depicts Fred's men sneaking up on the enemy camp behind a screen of rocks and trees, about to "appear so quick that the foe quakes with terror and surprise"; and the next picture, "The Captives," shows the trial of two prisoners taken at this engagement. Captain Fred is judging them, while another boy is cooking their supper over a fire — which "they'll receive as their just punishment." Real battle is finally joined in "The Storming of the Bridge"; the picture shows the fight in progress, while the poem describes the victory of Fred's party and the enemy's retreat to the village. The final verses, "The Last Battle,

and Surrender of the Enemy," tell of the fighting in the streets of the town, the success of Fred's men, and the peace made between the opponents. It ends,

"Ah!" cry they, "our Fred is a hero of might,  
Who leads us to act — not to prattle;  
Henceforth will we often march out to the field  
And follow him on to the battle."

The cover of the book is also printed in colors with a scene from the story; it shows the children in camp, with a sentry and drummer on guard. Nine separate lithographic stones were used to print each plate, producing a delicate and varied effect. The New England landscapes which form most of the backgrounds are one of the most attractive features of the book.

Even more than adult productions, children's books tend to be read to death, and the existence of a paper-bound volume like this in such good condition is unusual. As far as can be ascertained, the book does not appear in the standard bibliographies of American children's literature; it is not in Sabin's *Books Relating to America*. There is a brief entry in Kelly's *American Catalogue*, but this gives no information not found on the title-page. As for the Fall River Lithographic Company, it was not a regular publishing house; an advertisement in the city directory for 1864 lists them merely as "designers, engravers, and printers of every description of labels, show-cards, etc." By the end of the decade, the firm had disappeared.

ALISON BISHOP

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THE  
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QUARTERLY

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EDITOR: ZOLTÁN HARASZTI

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# THE Boston Public Library QUARTERLY

JULY 1952

A Hundred Years Ago

By ZOLTÁN HARASZTI

**I**T was on October 14, 1852 — a hundred years ago — that the City Council of Boston passed an ordinance giving definite form to the organization of a public library. Many events had prepared the establishment of the new institution, but this act is justly regarded as the beginning of its existence.

The ordinance — City Document No. 57 — is brief, its text occupying little more than two pages. First of all, it provided for the annual choosing of a Board of Trustees, consisting of one member of the Board of Mayor and Aldermen, one member of the Common Council and five citizens at large. The Board was to make "such rules and regulations for their own government and in relation to subordinate officers by them appointed, as they may deem expedient." It gave the Trustees "general care and control" of the Library, including the expenditure of all moneys appropriated therefor, subject at all times to any limitations or restrictions made by the City Council. The Trustees were directed to make an annual report to the City Council containing a statement of the condition of the Library, the number of books added during the year, and an account of all receipts and expenditures, together with such information or suggestions as they might deem important.

By the two branches of the City Council, a Librarian was to be chosen annually, removable at their pleasure. He was to

have "the immediate care and custody" of the Library, "perform any and all of the services in relation to the same and . . . obey all rules that may be prescribed by the Trustees." There was to be appointed annually a Committee of five citizens at large, who, together with a Trustee as chairman, were to examine the Library and make a report of its condition to the Trustees. This report was to be transmitted by the Trustees to the City Council at the time of the presentation of their own annual report. In prescribing the regulations relative to the care and use of books, it was made the duty of the Trustees "to adopt such measures as shall extend the benefits of the institution as widely as practicable throughout the community."

Nearly two more years went by before the doors of the new library were opened to the public; yet from the date of the adoption of this ordinance Boston already had its library.

**T**HE idea of establishing a free city library originated with the Frenchman Alexandre Vattemare. Born in 1797, Vattemare had a strange career. As "Monsieur Alexandre," he was known throughout Europe as an actor — an impersonator and ventriloquist; then, during his travels in many countries, he conceived the idea of an international exchange of books, prints, and documents among libraries and museums. Having founded such a system in Europe, in October 1839 he came to America to extend the organization to this country. Armed with innumerable letters of introduction, he visited Washington, where President Van Buren as well as the party leaders — John Quincy Adams, Henry Clay, Daniel Webster, and others — were greatly impressed by his scheme.

Soon he addressed a memorial to Congress: "At the instance chiefly of your memorialist," he wrote, "a system of exchanges has commenced between the governments and literary institutions of the different nations in Europe, by which books, natural productions, and works of art possessed by one are transferred, for an equivalent value, to another which may need them." What could the United States offer in such a system? "Wanting printed books," he assured Congress, "the

natural productions of the countries . . . are sought and inquired for with avidity in Europe and would command returns ten-fold of any value that the cost of obtaining them on the spot would amount to." And there were also the laws, statutes, and ordinances of the federal, state, and city governments. The Joint Committee on the Library wrote a favorable report, recommending that the Librarian be authorized to exchange such duplicates as might be in the Library, and that thereafter fifty additional copies of each volume of documents be printed for the purpose of exchange. Both Houses unanimously approved.

His work in Washington done, Vattemare began his propaganda among the state governments. His campaign took him throughout the country. Everywhere he was received with enthusiasm. Well did he say, with his love of beautiful phrases: "Men from the snow-clad hills of the North, the sunny glades of the South, the rock-bound coast of the Atlantic, and the solitudes of the West, laying aside sectional feelings and party ties, came together to meet upon neutral grounds . . ." A number of states agreed to print extra copies of their documents, and appropriated varying sums to defray the expenses of the system of exchanges.

In April 1841, just before returning to France, Vattemare appeared in Boston. He found a good many society libraries in the city, but no great public institution which could carry on the system of exchanges. The great need was, therefore, to found such an institution. One of his first visits was to Josiah Quincy, President of Harvard and former Mayor of Boston. The following day Quincy wrote to his son: "Mr. Vattemare's suggestions, on reflection, I think both feasible and desirable, and not to be slighted because of their foreign source." The Frenchman's plan, he went on, was to form a general organization among all the societies that had libraries, so as to have a medium of communication with similar associations in other states and countries. In aid of such an organization, Vattemare's further suggestion was that "a building should be obtained either from the patronage of the city or state, or from the subscription of private individuals, for uniting all the libraries and collections in one place and under one general super-

intendence . . . and the whole opened freely to the public, as such libraries and collections are in Europe."

The younger Quincy, a lawyer near forty and a former president of the City Council, shared his father's views, and with him all the younger men to whom Vattemare especially addressed himself. On April 24 they held a meeting, listening "with great delight" to his plan of forming "a great Literary and Scientific Institution in this city." Moved by the same idealism which at that very moment was leading to the founding of Brook Farm, they hoped that such an institution would break down "the factitious distinctions which separate class from class" by disseminating knowledge and taste through every portion of the population. A second meeting was held on May 7, Jonathan Chapman, the Mayor, presiding. A Committee of five — consisting of such outstanding citizens as Dr. Walter Channing, Josiah Quincy, Jr., Charles Francis Adams, the Reverend Ezra S. Gannett, and the Reverend George W. Blagden — was elected to correspond with the various societies concerning the amalgamation of their libraries.

Unfortunately, the project met with little success. Some of the societies saw "insuperable objections" to the union, while others made difficult stipulations. So the enterprise began to lag. Vattemare's letter of January 1843, announcing the sending of fifty volumes as a gift from the City of Paris, aroused some qualms of conscience; for the Frenchman made the respectful suggestion that the resolution of 1841 should be redeemed and "an Institution established, which will not only be a suitable depository for foreign works, but an ornament to the 'Athens of America' and a mine of literary wealth to her sons." A movement was started to repay the gift of Paris, and hundreds of volumes were donated by interested citizens. But there the affair stopped.

ON his second American visit in 1847, Vattemare was obliged to make a new start in Boston.

During the preceding six years he had sent thousands of volumes to this country, and he brought with him twelve thousand books, three hundred maps, and a large number of

medals and engravings. Nearly a hundred volumes were earmarked for Boston. The system of exchanges seemed securely established in America; twelve states, including far-off Indiana, were enrolled, and the state legislatures were vying with one another in the appreciation of Vattemare's services. In Boston he was welcomed with special warmth. Josiah Quincy, Jr. was now Mayor, and he was a real friend. One evening in August he gave a party for the visitor, to which all members of the City Council were invited, thus providing an opportunity for talking matters over. Soon afterwards a Special Committee was elected to consider "what acknowledgment and return should be made to the City of Paris for its gift of books, and to provide a place for the same."

On October 14 this Committee conveyed Vattemare's wish that, if the City choose to reciprocate the gift of Paris, it should not be in works of great value but rather in such books as illustrated the present condition of literature, art, science, and government in America. At the end, they pointed to the need for a public library:

The Committee cannot close their report without recommending to the City Council a consideration of the propriety of commencing a public library. Many of the citizens would, they believe, be happy to contribute both in books and money to such an object, and the Committee are informed that a citizen who wishes that his name may be concealed, has offered the sum of five thousand dollars for the purpose of making the commencement — on condition only that ten thousand dollars are raised at large for the same purpose, and that the Library should be as freely used by all as may be consistent with the safe keeping of the property.

A room on the third floor of City Hall was set aside for the deposit and safe-keeping of the books received from Paris; and a new Joint Committee was appointed to discuss "the expediency of commencing the formation of a public library under the control and auspices of the City." The books to reciprocate the Paris gift were also pouring in; the list of them, printed two years later, comprised more than a thousand titles. However, no donations of money were forthcoming; Mayor Quincy's offer — for he was the citizen who wished to have his name concealed — was allowed to lapse.



The Committee, at least, met frequently. On December 6 it reported, again through the Mayor:

That in their opinion the establishment of a public library is recommended by many considerations.

It will tend to interest the people at large in literature and science.

It will provide for those who are desirous of reading a better class of books than the ephemeral literature of the day.

It may be the means of developing minds that may make their possessors an honor and a blessing to their race.

It will give to the young when leaving school an opportunity to make further advances in learning and knowledge.

It will by supplying an innocent and praiseworthy occupation prevent a resort to those scenes of amusement that are prejudicial to the elevation of the mind.

The Committee endorsed Vattermare's plans as "worthy of the attention and patronage of the City"; and whereas formerly only the international aspects of the system had been emphasized, now attention was called to the benefit which all the cities of America would derive from it. "Linked together as we are by political and business relations," the Committee stated, "the character and intelligence of the people in every city between here and Oregon is of most importance to the citizens of Boston." If a free library is founded here, the example will be imitated. "At all events, the establishment of public libraries and a free exchange of works of science, literature and art will be productive of great good and is well deserving an attempt to obtain it."

But even in its generous zeal, the Committee was careful to make it clear that it was not recommending "that the City should make any appropriation for the purchase of books, or hold out any encouragement that it will be done hereafter" — a statement perhaps made only to allay anxieties. The Committee merely proposed that the City "should receive and take care of any volume that may be contributed for the purpose and agree, when the Library is of sufficient importance to justify the expense, to provide means that shall enable all the citizens to use it."

In his New Year's address of January 3, 1848, Mayor Quincy suggested that application be made to the Legislature "for power of aiding public-spirited citizens in the formation of a

library." The incoming City Council took up the subject, and on January 24 directed the Mayor to make such an application. In response to the Mayor's ensuing move, on March 18 the Legislature of the Commonwealth passed an act authorizing the City of Boston "to establish and maintain a Public Library for the use of the inhabitants of the said City." It empowered the City Council to make such rules and regulations for the care and maintenance of the institution as they deemed proper, provided that the annual appropriation did not exceed five thousand dollars. The Act was approved by the Governor on the same day, and was forwarded at once to the Common Council, where it was read and accepted. Finally, on April 3, the Mayor and Board of Aldermen signalized their concurrence.

Thus the act became a statute — the first statute ever passed authorizing the establishment and maintenance of a public library as a municipal institution supported by taxation.

**H**OWEVER, there was no hope that "a large public subscription" could be obtained towards the establishment of a public library. The Committee, therefore, opened negotiations with the Trustees of the Boston Athenaeum with the view of making its library accessible to the public. An annual sum of five thousand dollars was offered by the City, and the promise of raising one hundred thousand dollars (by subscription among citizens, not shareholders of the Athenaeum) to complete the Athenaeum's new building on Beacon Street was made. The City's condition was that "the citizens generally should be admitted to all the privileges of the shareholders." The Trustees of the Athenaeum declined the offer, suggesting that the Athenaeum might be satisfied with fifty thousand dollars and the annual payment "for the admission of the citizens to the use of the library only, without any privileges in the reading-room or otherwise." But the shareholders refused to authorize even such an arrangement.

Meanwhile books from authors, publishers, and private individuals continued to pour in. "They are a noble response from the community in favor of a free city library," the Committee reported, adding that "the rare and valuable books re-

ceived from Paris are the nucleus around which, we earnestly hope, a new and popular institution will speedily arise, which shall open its doors to the public."

The first contribution of money was received in August, 1850, from Mayor John P. Bigelow — a thousand dollars, out of the amount subscribed for a testimonial to him. Ever since, the income of that fund has been devoted to the purchase of books. About the same time Edward Everett offered his collection of public documents and state papers, comprising nearly a thousand volumes. He strongly urged the acquisition of a building suitable for the accommodation of fifteen or twenty thousand volumes and capable of future enlargement. "The first principles of popular government," he insisted, "require that the means of education should, as far as possible, be equally within the reach of the whole population." There was no other place where these principles were so thoroughly carried out as in Boston — up to the age when school education ended. Beyond that point "the noble principle of equality" failed:

At present the sons of the wealthy alone have access to well-stored libraries; while those whose means do not allow them to purchase books are too often debarred from them at the moment when they would be most useful . . . Where is the young engineer, machinist, architect, chemist, engraver, painter, or student in any of the professions or any of the exact sciences, or of any branch of natural history, or of moral or intellectual philosophy, to get access to the books which are absolutely necessary for him to pursue his inquiries to any advantage? There are no libraries in Boston which strictly speaking are public.

By January 1, 1852, the books received for the future library numbered 4,000 volumes. In February Mayor Seaver requested the City Council to make concrete provisions for the library. The small room on the third floor of City Hall was insufficient, and further donations could hardly be expected before rooms were provided. "There should be," he stated, "no unnecessary delay in placing the library on such a foundation as will entitle it to, and secure for it, the fullest confidence of the community in its success and usefulness." Three years before, John Jacob Astor had bequeathed to the City of New York the sum of \$400,000 for the establishment and maintenance of a public

library; and Mayor Seaver appealed to the pride of the City Council:

Boston ought not long to be far behind her sister city of New York in the establishment of a public library; and, while we can scarcely hope to rival her princely Astor, it cannot be doubted that we have many citizens who would be ready to bestow upon it large sums in money and in books, if they can be fully satisfied of its permanent foundation and ultimate success.

At the same time the Mayor suggested the appointment of a Librarian and the formation of a Board of Trustees. His recommendations were adopted — on May 13 the City Council chose Edward Capen as Librarian; and on May 24 Edward Everett, George Ticknor, John P. Bigelow, Nathaniel B. Shurtleff, and Thomas G. Appleton were elected to serve, together with the Committee on the Library, as members of the Board of Trustees. The first report of the Board, “on the objects to be attained by the establishment of a public library and the best mode of effecting them,” was drawn up by Ticknor with Everett’s help. Submitted on July 6, it was unanimously adopted.

This is a famous document. With its vision of the library of the future, it is justly regarded as a basis of the entire public library movement in America.

THE report first described the system of public education, its achievements and limitations, emphasizing the function of libraries. The existing social libraries, it stated, did not satisfy the great wants of the City, for multitudes had no right of access to any of them. Yet books ought to be furnished to all, for, under the social, political, and religious institutions of America, it was of paramount importance that the largest possible number of persons should be able to understand questions going down to the very foundations of the social order. Although the rival claims of no class, no matter how highly educated, should be overlooked, the first regard should be shown to the needs of those who in no other way could supply themselves with the reading necessary for their further education. The precise plan of the new library could not be settled beforehand; it was “a new thing,” and one had to feel one’s way as

one advanced. Nevertheless, one might foresee that it would fall into four classes :

1. Books that could not be taken out of the Library, such as cyclopedias, dictionaries, important public documents, and books which, from their rarity or costliness, could not be easily replaced.

2. Books that few persons would wish to read, and of which, therefore, only one copy need be kept, but which should be permitted to circulate freely. If, contrary to expectation, this copy should be often asked for, another copy, or more than one other copy, should be bought.

3. Books that would be often asked for, that is, "the more respectable of the popular books of the time." Of these, copies should be provided in such numbers that many persons, if they desire it, could read the same work at the same moment, and so render the pleasant and healthy literature of the day accessible to the whole people at the only time they care for it — when it is living, fresh, and new.

4. Periodical literature, which should not be taken out at all, or only in rare and peculiar cases, but should be kept in a reading room accessible to everybody.

The report recommended that no restriction be placed on access to the Library, "except such as the nature of individual books, or their safety, may demand." Thus the Trustees hoped to make the Library "the crowning glory" of the system of City schools — an institution "fitted to continue and increase the best effects of that system, by opening all the means of self culture through books, for which these schools have been specially qualifying them."

The erection of a building and the purchase of an ample library the Trustees regarded as impossible at that time. They looked only for the continuance of such "moderate and frugal expenditure" as had already been started, and for the assignment of a room or rooms in one of the public buildings belonging to the City. In order to put the Library into operation with the least possible delay, they suggested the use of the ground floor of the Adams school-house in Mason Street.

The next step was the passing of the ordinance of October 14, 1852.



## Governor Bernard for an American Nobility

By JORDAN D. FIORE

**B**Y his inability to appreciate the American point of view and by his unwillingness to compromise, Francis Bernard, Royal Governor of Massachusetts from 1760 to 1769, greatly hastened the crisis. Unaware of his faults, he constantly urged the authorities in England to revise the American colonial system and establish an American nobility to combat radicalism. According to his own admissions, he disapproved of many of the policies of the home government, but, since the sovereignty lay "in the hands of the King in Parliament," he regarded it as his duty to carry them out.

Many of the difficulties, Bernard felt, grew out of the fact that no definite set of rules had been established for the government of the colonies. With confidence in his own wisdom, he developed such a code, and in 1764 he forwarded it to his patrons in England under the title "Principles of Law and Polity, Applied to the Government of the British Colonies in America."<sup>1</sup> He sent three copies to his wife's cousin, Viscount Barrington, Secretary at War, on June 23, 1764, with the request that he transmit one to Lord Hillsborough, First Lord of Trade, and one to Lord Halifax, a Secretary of State.<sup>2</sup> Richard Jackson, who soon afterward was Bernard's choice for Agent for Massachusetts, and John Pownall, Secretary of the Board of Trade, also received copies.<sup>3</sup> For the next five years he was to bombard his patrons with a request to put his plan into practice.

The "Principles of Law and Polity" lists ninety-seven theses. Bernard stated his purpose in his preface as follows:

The writer has avoided declamation, and kept close to argument. He has reduced his whole subject into a set of propositions; beginning with first principles which are self-evident, proceeding to propositions capable of positive proof, and descending to hypotheses which are to be determined by degrees of probability only.<sup>4</sup>

He agreed first with the doctrine that the sovereignty of Great Britain lay in the hands of the King and Parliament, and that

Parliament had the right to make all laws. Parliament might grant or allow separate legislation in the colonies; but this was a grant and not an absolute right. Further, he maintained that this privilege of separate legislation "must be exercised in subordination to the Sovereign power from which it is derived."<sup>5</sup> Since the Privy Council of the King could reject any law passed by the legislature and approved by the Governor, this did not represent any change of policy.

Principle 36 recommended that the colonies should "pay the charge for the support of their own Governments, and of their own defence." One of the items on which the British Ministry had asked the advice of the Lords of Trade in 1763 was the matter of colonial contribution to the cost of maintaining the King's forces in America. Thus Bernard's principle should have been acceptable in England, but it would certainly have roused the colonies. Bernard reiterated the right of Parliament to raise taxes in any part of the Empire, yet, he stated, "it would be most adviseable to leave the Provincial Legislatures the raising the internal takes."<sup>6</sup> Having straddled the issue, he further advised that "it would make it more agreeable to the people, though the sum to be raised was prescribed, to leave the method of taxation to their own Legislature."<sup>7</sup>

These theses were compromises between the American and British points of view. The colonies had been paying the costs of their own governments by provincial legislation, and according to the Bernard plan the procedure was to continue. The colonies had frequently been reimbursed for a large part of the money spent in their own defense, but under the plan the entire costs would be borne by them. In this respect, the plan was in agreement with the recommendations of the Board of Trade. It urged that the Ministry should prescribe the amount that the provincial legislatures should raise for their governments and defense; the legislatures would be allowed merely to determine the manner in which the money was to be raised.<sup>8</sup>

For those who at the time of the Sugar Act had insisted upon the policy of "No taxation without representation, the Governor had something to offer. In his opinion, granting a share in the imperial legislation to the colonies would be impractical, but representation in Parliament might be expedient;

and, although the authority of Parliament over the colonies was not to be questioned, colonial representation might serve "for quieting disputes" and "preventing a separation in future times."<sup>9</sup>

This suggestion of representation in Parliament was in keeping with the demands of some members of the popular faction at that moment. James Otis in his *The Rights of the British Colonies Asserted and Proved* had approved of the principle. He wrote in 1764:

When the parliament shall think fit to allow the colonists a representation in the house of commons, the equity of their taxing the colonies will be as clear as their power is at present of doing it without, as they please.<sup>10</sup>

One of the Boston Resolutions of 28 May, 1764, which instructed the town's representatives — Tyler, Otis, Cushing, and Thacher — to seek the repeal of the Sugar Act stated:

If taxes are laid upon us, in any shape, without our having a legal representation where they are laid, are we not reduced from the character of free subjects to the miserable state of tributary slaves?<sup>11</sup>

But Otis's pamphlet and the Boston resolutions contained certain loopholes. Otis, while making concessions to the power of Parliament, had ridiculed Thomas Pownall's pamphlet, *The Rights of the Colonies Stated and Proved*, which had also advocated parliamentary representation.<sup>12</sup> The Boston resolution emphasized that the people of the town were opposed to the Sugar Act since it "annihilates our charter right to govern and tax ourselves." Their idea of having legal representation in the body in which the taxes were determined was merely a demand for the continuation of tax-levying by the provincial legislature. Indeed, Otis and other members of the popular faction soon realized the impracticability of parliamentary representation, for the American representatives could be at best only a hopeless minority in Commons; any bill could be passed over their opposition, and they would have no hope for repeal. The principle that only the provincial legislatures had the right to levy taxes thus became the rallying cry of the patriots, voiced with special force in the Stamp Act Congress held in the following year.

HAVING developed his ideas to this point, Bernard was now ready to reveal the glaring fault in the American system of government and to suggest his plan for the establishment of a colonial nobility as a means of remedy. His belief in the necessity of such a measure grew out of a conviction that it would balance the relationship between the King and his American subjects. He maintained that there should be a third "real and distinct" legislative power, "mediating between the King and the People, which is the peculiar excellence of the British Constitution."<sup>13</sup>

In Massachusetts, for example, the Legislature had two branches, the House of Representatives, the members of which were elected by the town meetings, and the Council, the members of which were elected by the House of Representatives with the approval of the Governor. It was the Council that Bernard wanted to reform. The Council served a dual function: it was a legislative body which passed on bills originating in the House, and it also served as the Governor's privy council. As a legislative branch it met under the direction of a president chosen by the members. During the first six years of Bernard's tenure Lieutenant-Governor Hutchinson was Council President; when the Council met as a privy council, usually Bernard himself presided. The two branches of the legislature were greatly affected by the popular will. The House was immediately responsible to the people, since its members had to face re-election annually; and the members of the Council, dependent upon the House, were indirectly responsible to the people. Only the possibility that the Governor might negative the election of a Councillor remained as a check upon popular excesses; and Bernard felt that the arrangement added "weight to the popular, and lighten[ed] the royal scale: so as to destroy the balance between the royal and popular powers."<sup>14</sup> At this time the Council was conservative, and most of the Governor's wishes were granted; so that there was little justification for Bernard's distrust of the Council's position; but the attitude of that body after 1766 proved his point.

Through the establishment of an American nobility the



King's authority would be strengthened. Bernard made the propositions :

Although America is not now (and probably will not be for many years to come) ripe enough for an hereditary Nobility; yet it is now capable of a Nobility for life.

A Nobility appointed by the King for life, and made independent, would probably give strength and stability to the American governments, as effectually as an hereditary Nobility does to that of Great Britain.<sup>15</sup>

Such a nobility would hold a place similar to that of the House of Lords and would serve the same purpose, being a buffer between the popular power and the Crown.

It was in the summer of 1764 that Bernard sent copies of his plan to Barrington, Halifax, and Hillsborough, but it took some time before he learned what these influential persons thought of his work. "I have nothing to add," he wrote to Barrington, "but that the Experience of explaining to the Americans the nature of their own rights keeps encreasing as new Pamphletts on the popular Side are coming out. If your Lordship should think that this Paper affords a proper System for such an explanation, I am quite prepared to enforce & extend the principal propositions thereof, by observations of my own & conclusions drawn from them . . ." <sup>16</sup> Not content with the distribution of the essay, he asked Barrington to attempt "to procure Lord Mansfields thoughts upon it." He knew that if the plan were approved by Mansfield, Chief Justice of the King's Bench and a staunch supporter of the royal prerogative, his success would be assured.

Early in October Barrington informed Bernard about the death of his wife, and made a brief comment on the plan: "I have presented your work to Lord Halifax who admired it greatly, and says it is the best thing of the kind by much that he has ever read; I am persuaded Lord Hillsborough will not give it less commendation."<sup>17</sup>

**I**N the meantime Bernard had written a remarkable letter to Halifax, suggesting a scheme to change the boundaries of the New England colonies. He explained that the division of New



England into governments of suitable size would not be difficult "if it was unimbarassed with the Politics Prejudice and Humours of the People." Any difficulty that might arise would grow out of "the bad policy of establishing republican forms of Government in the British Dominions."<sup>18</sup>

Bernard's plan for the reorganization of the colonies on a geographical basis is interesting. First the governments of Rhode Island and Connecticut should be dissolved; the new province of Massachusetts would then consist of all the province, all of New Hampshire and Rhode Island, and all of Connecticut east of the Connecticut River, while the second province would consist of Maine and western Acadia, and all of the land farther east would make up the third province. The Governor did not overlook the power of religious differences. By dividing Connecticut, two potential sources of dissension would be removed: New Haven, the seat of Yale College, Harvard's Congregationalist rival, and Hartford, the province's other religious center, would then be in separate colonies. New Hampshire was good Congregationalist territory, and so there should be no religious problem there. Only Rhode Island with its Quakers, Baptists, Congregationalists, Episcopalians, and Sephardic Jews might be difficult to absorb into the new colony. In Bernard's opinion, however, religious differences had become "so entirely subservient to politics, that, if the state of the Government is reformed, and a perfect Toleration secured, Religion will never give any trouble." This new province of Massachusetts would be, he thought, an ideal place to attempt the new experiment, which Bernard then unfolded to Halifax.

By a rather unusual logic Bernard felt certain that the popular faction would lose little by the adoption of his plan. He reasoned that to allow the members of the Legislative Council to be removed by the people, who had no hand in the appointment, would be unconstitutional. Yet the people would object to the arbitrary removal of the Councillors by the King. The answer to this problem was to appoint them for life, and thus they would be independent of both the King and the people. In this point Bernard certainly displayed an amazing naiveté. By keeping the membership of the Council dependent on the House of Representatives, the people of the province had an

indirect control; and the advocates of popular rights could hardly be expected to give up this power in exchange for two Councils, one selected by the King for life and the other serving at the King's pleasure. For the new Council obviously would be filled with royal favorites, men recommended by the Governor. The plan, if adopted, would give these officials a legislative power they did not yet possess. In England it was not unusual for a member of the House of Lords to serve as a King's appointee in an administrative, executive, or judicial capacity, as did Halifax, Hillsborough, Shelburne, and Mansfield. But even the possibility of serving on the Privy Council could not have tempted the representatives who espoused the patriot cause. Through their power of electing the members of the Council, they already controlled the privy council.

Bernard presented to Halifax a project to create an independent class of royal appointees. The various appointments to royal posts were made by the King or by the Governor in the name of the King, but the salaries for these posts were paid by the provincial legislature. Bernard, fearing that the control of the purse-strings gave the legislatures too much power, proposed that a Civil List be established for the support of Crown officers. He who in his plan had advocated that each colonial government should be self-supporting, now proposed that the home government provide a subsidy for the maintenance of its colonial officers "that they who hold the reins of Government and the balance of Justice may no way be subject to popular influence." Three events prompted his suggestion. During the Sugar Act controversy, when the bill for appropriating money for the Governor's salary was introduced, a member of the House said that if the British Government levied taxes without the consent of the House, the Ministry ought to pay the salary of the Governor. Hutchinson's additional allowance as Chief Justice was withheld by the House after an argument over a money bill in 1762; and finally Edmund Trowbridge was forced to wait for more than a year for the salary due him as Attorney-General. These threats would be eliminated by giving guaranteed salaries to royal appointees filling administrative offices.

Bernard hoped that the King would present his plan in a

royal proclamation to which "the consent of the colonies will be absolutely necessary." If, however, the plan were adopted by the King in Parliament, the consent of the colonies would not be necessary, but would be "very expedient."<sup>19</sup>

Only two groups of people would have been pleased by Bernard's plan: the royal appointees, who would have been made members of one of the Councils and thus have attained noble rank, and their friends, relatives, and supporters. The popular faction, already protesting parliamentary encroachment on colonial rights, would have resented the further assertion of the royal prerogative. However, there were many lawyers, representatives (particularly from western Massachusetts), tradesmen, and former soldiers who were not certain of their attitudes on particular issues of the day. With the establishment of a strong royalist branch of government, and with the possibility of rewards for serving it made apparent, these men might have been converted to the royalist cause.

Some aspects of the plan might have been put into effect a few years earlier by Pownall, since there was little antipathy toward him, but the pamphlets and newspapers of the 1760's unmistakably show that it would have been violently fought at this time. Men like Otis, Thacher, Sam Adams, John Adams, Hancock, and Bowdoin were not interested in English rewards, nor were they concerned with wealth, which some already had, and which the others might have earned with their skills.

Bernard's plan for a balanced government in Massachusetts was the basis of only one of the many controversies over the same issue. The English constitution, as Cadwallader Colden, Lieutenant-Governor of New York, stated, consisted "in a proper balance between the monarchical, aristocratical, and democratical forms of government," and that principle was extended as far as possible in ten of the North American colonies. Many colonial conservatives, and even many who espoused the popular cause, accepted this principle. Only in Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and Connecticut was there lacking any "aristocratical branch of the provincial government."

That the Council in Massachusetts had remained conservative and for the most part subservient, or at least agreeable, to the Governor's wishes was only Bernard's good fortune. The ac-

tion of the House in its control of Council membership, through forced resignations and its refusal to elect members opposed to the popular faction, was to provide for him later the best argument that the government of the province was getting out of hand.

**B**ERNARD wrote to Barrington in December 1764 that he was "very flattered by my Lord Halifax's approbation of the essay."<sup>20</sup> However, Halifax's approbation did not signify that he was willing to execute the plan, for the British Ministry had many other problems to consider before the organization of the colonies could be debated. In the next year, with the formation of the Rockingham Cabinet, Halifax resigned as Secretary of State for the Southern Department. Bernard, too, had his troubles in attempting to enforce the Stamp Act, and so little more was said for some time about his plan.

In November 1765 Bernard wrote again to Lord Barrington, who was then Secretary of War, about his project. Recent events did not encourage him to change his ideas.<sup>21</sup> He blamed the neglect of his plan on the fact that "unfortunately . . . the Business of the Finances took the Lead." His letter, which is an excellently conceived attack upon the parliamentary system of taxing the colonies, also discussed the weaknesses of the royal government in America, the influence of the popular faction, and the lack of balance between the two. He feared that it was almost too late to reform the administration of the colonies. Reaffirming his belief that colonial representation in Parliament was expedient, he advised that a system of parliamentary representation be evolved immediately until a set of regulations acceptable to the colonies and Parliament might be established. He made several suggestions, among which were that colonial legislatures should recognize the supremacy of Parliament and that the laws of the colonies should be reduced to the standards of the laws of England. He also reiterated the need of a Civil List and of "a true Middle Legislative Power, appointed by the King for Life & separate from the privy Council."

Throughout all his altercations with the House Bernard had



found comfort in the loyalty of his Council, headed by Thomas Hutchinson. In 1766 the popular faction succeeded in eliminating nineteen "friends of government" from the House and six from the Council — Judges Oliver and Lynde, and John Cushing, Secretary Oliver, Attorney-General Edmund Trowbridge, and Thomas Hutchinson. Try as he might, Bernard could not induce the House to agree to the election of the Crown officers to the Council, and he negatived many of the House's choices each year. Rather than to allow the Governor his own way, the House refused to fill the positions and at one time twelve of the twenty-eight were vacant.

The House and Council concurred in rejecting many of Bernard's demands and in failing to adopt laws that he desired, thus rendering him almost helpless. The Governor continued to complain to the Board of Trade, to Barrington, Shelburne, Hillsborough, the Pownalls, and others of influence, calling attention to the abuses of the House. To Shelburne, who succeeded Halifax, he explained many of his ideas. Shelburne expressed his thanks, but was unable, or unwilling, to put the plan into practice.

Bernard was greatly upset that the Council, once so coöperative as a legislative and privy council, had become a tool of the popular party. In a long letter to Pownall, marked private, he referred to the introduction of royal troops and stated that the government was now protected but had "not yet recovered much of its former energy." This energy, according to him, might never be restored under the existing situation. A compromise was desirable and possible, if the work of reform were started at once,

making that necessary amendment of the constitution of this Government, the putting the Appointment of the Council in the King's hands; it will be an Event most happy for this Province . . . With this alteration I do believe the Disorder of this Government will be remedied and the Authority of it fully restored. Without it there will be perpetual Occasion to resort to Expedients, the continual Inefficacy of which will speak in the words of Scripture, "You are careful and troubled about many things but one thing is needful" . . .<sup>22</sup>

In the meantime the Governor, eager to institute a system



of colonial nobility, was not averse to procuring such honors for himself. Largely through Barrington's influence, Hillsborough, the Secretary of State for the Colonies, obtained the title of Baronet for him in 1769. At about the same time he was recalled to England, ostensibly to advise the King and Ministry concerning conditions in the colony.

**E**VEN in the last year of his administration Bernard continued to urge the British authorities to reorganize the American governments. Late in 1768 he recommended again to Hillsborough that a system of fixed salaries for Crown appointees be established and that the Civil List be set up by the Ministry.<sup>23</sup>

On February 4, 1769, shortly before his recall, he wrote another forceful letter to Hillsborough. The idea of a royally-appointed Council (which was actually established in Massachusetts in 1774) was evidently gaining favor in England, and the Governor felt that some of the members should be excluded, at least temporarily. On the other hand, the members who were eliminated in 1766 — the Lieutenant Governor, the Secretary of the Province, and the Judges — should be restored immediately. The less obnoxious members might be retained, and from among the other royal officers — the Judge of Admiralty, the Attorney-General, the Solicitor General, and some of the Commissioners of the Customs, for example — the Crown could select outstanding defenders of the prerogative. Cautiously, Bernard suggested that the naming of Customs Commissioners to the Council be postponed until the disturbances had subsided. Since the organization of the new Council would take time, he thought it advisable to fill only twelve of the posts, and the remainder only after the prospective candidates proved that they merited the appointments.

Eventually, Bernard hoped, the "middle legislature" might be organized as a separate body, its members appointed by the King for life, to be removed only for malconduct adjudged by this Upper House, with the consent of the Governor, or by the King in his Privy Council.<sup>24</sup> The Privy Council of the province under the new development would be composed of members of the House of Representatives, members of the new middle

legislature, and "upon some Occasion of Gentlemen who have Seats in Neither."

The Governor was careful to point out the possibilities of patronage. The King's position, by the new power of appointment, would be even more important and would "become . . . one of the principal Means of balancing the Weight of the People." Perhaps this power could not be carried too far in America, he agreed, but it was possible to carry it farther than it had been up to that time. With the increase in patronage, the King would be able to make a distinction between the friends of the government and the popular faction. He explained that "this method would multiply the Honors conferred by his Majesty at least five-fold in every Province without making them cheap." Finally, he suggested that each member of the Upper House should be given the title of Baron, which "is no more than a Lord of Manor in England has a Right to, whose Court is now called *Curia Baronis*."<sup>25</sup>

Ten days later, Bernard forwarded the names of twelve men who should be named to this first Council.<sup>26</sup> Thomas Hutchinson headed the list. Andrew Oliver, John Cushing, Peter Oliver, Edmund Trowbridge, and Benjamin Lynde, all of whom had been rejected annually since 1766, were also on it. The other six whom Bernard suggested for appointment were Thomas Flucker, Nathaniel Ropes, Timothy Paine, James Russell, Benjamin Lincoln, and Thomas Hubbard, all members of the Council in 1769. Flucker succeeded Andrew Oliver as Secretary of the Province in 1774; he remained a staunch loyalist despite the fact that James Bowdoin, the President of the Council and a leader of the popular faction, was his brother-in-law, and Henry Knox later married his daughter. Nathaniel Ropes became a Judge of the Superior Court in 1772 and served until his death in 1774. Timothy Paine of Worcester was named one of the Mandamus Councillors in 1774 but did not take the oath; although his sympathy was with the King, he did not leave the province but remained in Worcester during the war. James Russell of Charlestown, too, was named to the Mandamus Council in 1774 and did not take the oath; two of his sons were driven out of the province as loyalists, but he remained in Charlestown. Benjamin Lincoln of Hingham was a member of

the popular faction and served as a Brigadier General in the Revolution.

Bernard's plan, of course, was never adopted. His correspondence with Hillsborough, fortunately for him, was not among the letters published by Edes and Gill in 1769. The plan did not reach the American public until the publication in 1774 of his *Select Letters*, which contained as an Appendix the "Principles of Law and Polity." The volume included some of the letters to Pownall and Barrington with emendations and omissions. But by this time the Bernard letters met with almost no response in Massachusetts, so busy was the popular faction in other affairs.

Yet, to a limited extent, some of Bernard's ideas were realized. The Townshend Acts of 1767 provided that a part of the income from the duties should be used for the support of certain royal appointees, of whom Hutchinson in his capacity as Chief Justice was one. Bernard did succeed in 1770 and 1771 in inducing the British Ministry to make appropriations guaranteeing Hutchinson's salary when he succeeded to the governorship. The Massachusetts Government Act of 1774 called for the appointment by the King of the Massachusetts Mandamus Council. There may be some significance in the fact that Bernard published his letters and his plan in that same year. He thought, perhaps, that the publication would raise him in the estimation of the Ministry.

## Notes

1. The essay was first published in Bernard's *Select Letters on the Trade and Government of America; and the Principles of Law and Polity*, (London, 1774). The Rare Book Department of the Boston Public Library has a copy of this book, as well as many other rare items relating to Governor Bernard. Among them are *Letters to the Ministry from Governor Bernard, General Gage and Commodore Hood* (Boston, 1769); and *Letters to the Right Honorable the Earl of Hillsborough from Governor Bernard, General Gage, and the Honorable His Majesty's Council for the Province of Massachusetts Bay* (Boston, 1769). Two works show the antagonism against Bernard in the colonies: *An Address to a Provincial Bashaw* (Boston, 1769) and *An Elegy to the Infamous Memory*

of *Sr F— B—* (Boston, 1769). The Rare Book Department also has three autograph manuscripts signed by the Governor.

2. Bernard's choice of Barrington as an intermediary between him and Halifax was a wise one, for Barrington considered Halifax "one of the oldest & most intimate friends . . . in the world." Bernard Papers (Harvard College Library) x, 296.

3. The letter to Barrington is #6 in the *Select Letters*. The letter to Pownall is #7.

4. *Select Letters*, p. 68.

5. *Ibid.*, Principle 16.

6. *Ibid.*, Principle 44.

7. *Ibid.*, Principle 48.

8. *Ibid.*, Principles 48, 45.

9. *Ibid.*, Principles 61-65.

10. James Otis, *The Rights of the British Colonies Asserted and Proved* (Boston, 1764) p.59. The Rare Book Department of the Boston Public Library has a copy of this rare work.

11. *Instructions of the Town of Boston* (Boston, 1764). There is also a London edition of this same year, frequently bound with Otis's work.

12. Thomas Pownall, *The Rights of the Colonies Stated and Proved* (London, 1765). Pownall repeated the principle of parliamentary representation in his *Speech in Favour of America* (London? 1774?) and his *Administration of the British Colonies* (London, 1774). The Boston Public Library has copies of the last two items.

13. *Select Letters*, Principle 86.

14. *Ibid.*, Principle 87.

15. *Ibid.*, Principles 88 and 89.

16. Bernard to Barrington, July 23, 1764; Bernard Papers, III, 236.

17. Barrington to Bernard, October 3, 1764; *ibid.*, X, 195.

18. Bernard's letter to Halifax is in Volume 41 in the State Paper Office, London. A copy, made on November 9, 1764, is found in Jared Sparks's compilation, "British Papers Relating to the American Revolution," Harvard College Library, II, 39-42.

19. There is nothing in the Massachusetts Charter of 1691 to indicate that the legislature was given the privilege of approving or rejecting the proclamations of the King.

20. Bernard to Barrington, December 27, 1764; Bernard Papers, III, 271.

21. Bernard to Barrington, November 23, 1765; *ibid.*, V, 47.

22. Bernard to John Pownall, November 23, 1768; *ibid.*, VI, 168.

23. Bernard to Hillsborough, December 12, 1768; *ibid.*, VII, 115.

24. There is a similarity between this plan and the idea of the House of Lords.

25. The letter is dated February 4, 1769; Bernard Papers, VII, 132-138.

26. Bernard to Hillsborough, Postscript to letter of February 4, 1769, dated February 14, 1769; *ibid.*, VII, 140.

# The Keepsake in Nineteenth-Century Art

By FRANK WEITENKAMPF

PERHAPS the keepsake has been treated just a bit slightly in our day and is worth a re-examination and a possible revision of judgment.

The nineteenth-century keepsake flowered most in England and the United States. France, after its seventeenth-century anthologies and eighteenth-century *Almanach des Muses*, had in the nineteenth century counterparts of the English-language keepsakes such as *Album Littéraire* (1832), *L'Émeraude* (1832), *Le Talisman* (1832), *Ne m'oubliez pas* (1837), *Le Brick*, *Album de Mer* (1836), *Consolation et Espérance: Keepsake Religieux* (1836), and others. These little books, some in satin bindings and slip cases, displayed an impressive list of authors: Lamartine, Nodier, Dumas, Gautier, Sainte-Beuve, Heine, Sue, Hugo, Chénier. And Germany followed its eighteenth-century *Musen Almanach* with early nineteenth-century *Taschenbuch zum geselligen Vergnügen*, *Vergissmeinnicht*, *Aurora*, and the like, with contributions by prominent writers.

According to Walter Thornbury, Alaric Watts is said to have proposed "to start an annual volume (half art, half literature), in imitation of the German pocket-books," thus originating the keepsake. And Howard Mumford Jones, in his *Ideas in America* (1944), remarks that "the French and British annuals were the models of the American gift books." But, whatever influence continental European annuals may have had on the English-language product, the latter was essentially the result of British and American taste, talent, and enterprise, with a character quite its own.

There was also counter-influence on France. Frédéric Lachèvre wrote in his *Bibliographie des keepsakes et autres recueils collectifs de la période romantique, 1823-48*: "The Keepsakes . . . were a response to a mode come from England, and which associated a truly artistic effort with interesting texts. The opinion then prevalent acknowledged the decided superiority of the English from the point of view of illustration and en-



graving, claiming for the French a less marked superiority on the literary side. Hence the fusion of English engravings with French texts." British engravings appeared in French publications such as *Le Diamant, orné de seize gravures anglaises* and *Keepsake Français* for 1831. The latter has British engravings after British artists, and French ones from French designs; so that Turner, Boys, and Johannot are joined in a pretty mixture of styles. American plates also found their way to French publishers. *The Keepsake Américain* for 1831, issued in New York, Philadelphia, and Paris, with American engravings mostly after British designs, states in its preface: "We have long felt the desire to make an attempt to give our well-beloved public some fine books in the manner of those rich, agreeable, and interesting English galleries in which all the art of the designer and all the skill of the engraver, united with select pieces by contemporary celebrities, concur to enchant both the mind and the eye of the reader." Next year it was announced: "Last year we entitled our *Keepsake Américain* because our engravings came from New York. This time we have searched the portfolios of the artists of London . . ."

And so to the English-language product. Henry Seidel Canby, Arthur Waugh, and others of our day have described the keepsakes and the larger "gift-books" (it is not always clear which is meant) as ornaments for the parlor table. A half-truth, really. Yes, the advertisement of at least one gift-book offered it as "an elegant accession to the parlor table," and Frederick W. Faxon has pointed out that "the English publications were known as 'Drawing-room Annuals.'" But they had their reading public — even the adverse criticisms of their day show that — and can hardly be classed simply as ornaments, like alabaster clocks or Rogers groups. The announcement of Leitch Ritchie's *A Journey to St. Petersburg* (Heath's Picturesque Annual, 1836) reads:

The former volumes of the Picturesque Annual, although aspiring to a permanent place in the library, were yet written with some reference to the character of drawing-room table books stamped upon them by their gorgeous bindings and exquisite engravings. When the author, however, undertook to travel in Russia — a country about which so many conflicting opinions have been pub-

lished — he thought that he would best consult the advantage of the public by making his book a work entirely of information . . .

Noted British authors contributed to the keepsakes, including some who, "in a state of revolt against the debased ideals of their time," as G. M. Trevelyan puts it in his *English Social History*, scored the weak features of these publications. There were Dickens, Thackeray, Bulwer-Lytton, Scott, Coleridge, Wordsworth, Southey, Lamb, Mary Mitford, Leigh Hunt, the Howitts, Macaulay, Byron, Moore, Landor, Campbell, Praed, Hood, Ruskin, Theodore Hook, the Brownings, Tennyson, Bryan W. Proctor, Disraeli, Douglas Jerrold, Sheridan Knowles, Shelley and Alaric Watts. Most of these are named by Faxon, who notes among American writers for American annuals Hawthorne, Poe, Whittier, Edward Everett, Mrs Harriet Beecher Stowe, Cooper, Irving, Fitz-Greene Halleck, and others. Add Emerson, who found nothing worth-while in keepsakes and wrote for *The Diadem* of 1846, which the New York *Tribune* at the time pronounced "the most gorgeous of American annuals and . . . the most tasteful."

WE now come to our main topic, the illustrations. The pictures in the keepsakes are likely to hold our main interest today, as they may have done for the public of their time. They probably cost more than the text. Lachèvre noted that *The Amulet*, edited by S. C. Hall, announced that one of the engravings in its fifth volume (1830) cost 145 guineas and another 180; and Kathleen Knox in *Gentleman's Magazine*, June 1902, tells us that the second *Keepsake*, the one for 1829, cost no less than 11,000 guineas! There must have been a good-sized public willing to pay. (For the United States, Ralph Thompson, in his *American Literary Annuals & Gift Books: 1825-1865*, has information about cost of engraving and profits of publishers.)

Steel engraving ("elegant" and "highly finished," say title-pages and advertisements) ruled supreme in keepsakes and gift-books; wood engraving and lithography must have seemed too common for such genteel publications. Dickens in *Bleak House* and Bulwer-Lytton in *The Cartons* had their fling at the

lackadaisical character of the plates in these *recherché* products, at the smirks of the ladies "and their male counterparts, effeminately exquisite." In George Eliot's *Middlemarch* a young suitor "had brought the last 'Keepsake,' the gorgeous watered-silk publication which marked modern progress at that time . . . to look over it with her, dwelling on the ladies and gentlemen with shiny copper-plate cheeks and copper-plate smiles . . ." Goethe was more lenient; it is recorded that on January 30, 1830, he showed Eckermann the English keepsake for that year, noting the "very fine copper-plates." Emerson, scoring the text, wrote of "one of those souvenirs, bound in gold vellum, enriched with delicate engravings on thick hot-pressed paper, fit for the hands of ladies and princes, with nothing in it worth reading or remembering." That is a kind word for the plates, about which two Frenchmen also had their say, descriptive rather than critical. Balzac in *Eugénie Grandet* speaks of "the emotions of delicate pleasure given to a young man by the contemplation of the fanciful figures of females drawn by Westall and engraved by Finden, in the English keepsakes." And in Flaubert's *Madame Bovary* young Emma, in a convent, surreptitiously reads keepsakes, "delicately handling their fine satin bindings." Emma "trembled, her breath raising the tissue paper of the engravings, which rose half-folded and fell back softly on the page."

Much of the criticism was apparently aimed at the larger, more pretentious gift-books, in the engravings of which simpering sentimentality was etiolated, and artistic incompetence made more obvious by being thinly spread over plates bigger than in the keepsakes. There was indeed a sameness in these conceptions of female beauty, with "raven hair, delicate extremities," and all the rest of it. (George Meredith, in *Diana of the Crossways*.) And Aldous Huxley speaks (*Essays New and Old*) of "the egg-shaped face, the slick hair, the swan-like neck, the champagne-bottle shoulders." "Des anglaises à profil de Keepsake," wrote Flaubert in *L'Education sentimentale*.

The most detailed appraisal is found in Thackeray's review of "a parcel of the little gilded books" in *Fraser's Magazine* for December 1837. He wrote:

There are the *Friendship's Offering* embossed, and the *Forget Me*





*"The Parting," from Gems of Beauty, London, 1839*





*Not in morocco; Jennings's Landscape* in dark green, and the *Christian Keepsake* in pea; *Gems of Beauty* in shabby green calico, and *Flowers of Loveliness* in tawdry red woollen; moreover, the *Juvenile Scrap-book* for good little boys and girls; and among a host of others, and greatest of all, the *Book of Gems* . . . Now with the exception of the last . . . and of *Jennings's Landscape Annual*, which contains the admirable designs of Mr. Roberts, nothing can be more trumpery than the whole collection — as works of art, we mean. They tend to encourage bad taste in the public, bad engraving, and worse painting. As to their literary pretensions . . . such a display of miserable mediocrity . . . is hardly to be found in any other series . . . The poetry is quite worthy of the pictures, and a little sham sentiment is employed to illustrate a little sham art.

One of those who supplied verses for the pictures was the Countess of Blessington, who edited the *Keepsake* during 1841-50 and did "fanciful verses" for *Gems of Beauty* (1839). Letitia Elizabeth Landon and Mary Howitt similarly furnished "poetical illustrations" for the annual *Fisher's Drawing Room Scrap-Book*. The reversal of the usual relation between text and illustration is neatly indicated also by the title of George Baxter's *The Pictorial Album or Cabinet of Paintings* . . . *With Illustrations in Verse and Prose* (1837). These rhyme-smiths were parodied in *Fiddle-Faddle Fashion-Book*, which William Powell Frith in his life of John Leech calls "a whimsical satire on the fopperies and literary absurdities of the period."

Now then to the other side of the story. *The Book of Gems* (1836, 1837) which Thackeray excepted from condemnation, was an anthology of British authors back to Chaucer, edited by S. C. Hall. The artists included Lawrence, Etty, Mulready, Beechey, Cooper, Creswick, Boys, D. O. Hill, and Flaxman. A respectable showing, but there was added the inevitable and namby-pamby E. T. Parris. His work, and that of the Misses L. Sharpe and F. Corbeaux, and others of their kind, stood out and invited adverse criticism. The hodge-podge of good and bad illustrations is not infrequently found in the same book. In *Heath's Gallery of British Engravings* (1836) J. M. W. Turner, R. P. Bonington, Thomas Lawrence, G. S. Newton, and C. Stanfield rub shoulders with inferior artists. And in Baxter's *The Pictorial Album or Cabinet of Paintings* — a pro-

duct of pretentious elegance — together with figure pieces by Westall, Corbeaux, and Sharpe are also landscapes, far exceeding them in worth and interest, by Samuel Prout and George Barnard.

Landscape is the specialty in which, on the whole, the gift-book made its best showing. That is why Thackeray's mention of David Roberts is significant. There is plenty of material to prove this in such publications as *Jennings's Landscape Annual* and *Heath's Picturesque Annual*, both issued serially in the 'thirties. Turner played a particularly important part in the landscape illustration of books, for instance in Rogers's *Italy* (1830) and in Finden's *Landscape and Portrait Illustrations of Byron* (1837). The able engravers put remarkably delicate burin work into these small plates. The work of Turner and other landscape artists, in such books, served and fostered an apparent interest of the public in views of the homeland and of foreign countries. And furthermore, Thornbury, in his *The Life of J. M. W. Turner*, tells us that "about 1824 the frivolous keepsake mania, though originating mere literary confectionery gave an impetus to modern art."

**I**N the United States as in England good work, in text and illustrations, was mingled with the poor. "Between the covers of American gift books," Ralph Thompson writes ". . . appeared some of the best of contemporary literature and contemporary art." The development of this form of publication brought about unmistakably American traits. That appears notably in the plates which our painters, draughtsmen, and engravers produced for these annuals. Besides reproductions of British paintings, there were also paintings of American life and scenery; and it is these that are significant. They show a certain robust matter-of-factness contrasting with the sentimentality transplanted from London. As in other fields, the young nation was emerging into a character of its own, which showed through any veneer of foreign taste and tradition.

Paintings and drawings by Thomas Birch, A. B. Durand, Thomas Cole, Thomas Doughty, R. W. Weir, Henry Inman, W. G. Wall, Joshua Shaw, W. S. Mount, J. G. Chapman, and

J. G. Clonney were reproduced in line engravings on steel by capable craftsmen such as A. B. Durand, James Smillie, J. Cheney, J. A. Rolph, and G. W. Hatch. They put before the public scenes from everyday life, historical events, and, of special importance as in England, landscape views. Various parts of America were pictured: Niagara, the Delaware Water Gap, the Hudson, Schuylkill and Juanita Rivers, the Catskills, Trenton Falls, Passaic Falls. Noted cemeteries also were described and pictured in gift-books. There were even landscapes without local interest or emphasis, appealing simply to a love of nature: Doughty's "A lake scene" (*The Atlantic Souvenir*, 1828) and Inman's "Storm coming on" (*Magnolia*, 1837).

So the plates in keepsakes helped to bring American art to the public. As Merle Curti notes in his *The Roots of American Loyalty*, "A wider public was reached through elaborate gift-books, beautifully embellished with American views." And Harold E. Dickinson believes that John Neal's remarks in *The Yankee* (1828-1829) about the plates in *The Token* and *The Atlantic Souvenir* "must have led many a reader to pick up the books themselves for a closer inspection of the pictures they contained."

A swarm of these genteel annuals appeared in our land — "between 1825 and 1865 more than a thousand," Ralph Thompson affirms in his *American Literary Annuals & Gift Books* (1936). They had flowery titles, such as *Magnolia*, *Rose of Sharon*, etc. Some were fitted to season, as *The Gift, a Christmas and New Year's Present for 1836* and *The Keepsake of Friendship, a Christmas and New Year's Annual* (Boston 1849-55). Possible restriction of sales to season seemed to be avoided in *Gift for all Seasons* (1853) and *Affection's Gift, a Christmas, New Year and Birthday Present for 1855*. Various classes were served: the ladies (*The American Ladies Pocket Book*, *The Ladies' Casket*, *The Lady's Album*); the religious (*The Religious Souvenir*, *The Christian Keepsake and Missionary Annual*); young people; mourners; brides; mothers; pastors; and the abolitionists. Jacksonian democracy and the keepsake were linked in an odd combination in *The Jackson Wreath* (1829). Even the female mill workers at Lowell, Massachusetts, during 1840-45 issued a *Lowell Offering*, written "exclusively" by them, and compared favorably

with British annuals by Charles Dickens in his *American Notes*.

In the many years of its popularity the keepsake was contemporary with the soul-stirring imaginings of William Blake and the dainty designs of Moritz Retzsch; with authors as different in outlook as Goethe, Balzac, Scott, Dickens, Irving, Cooper, Thackeray, Bulwer-Lytton, and Emerson; with Gothic romanticism and melodramatic historicalness; with the fashion of caricature illustration by Cruikshank and Phiz, and the straightforward realism of Gilbert and Darley; with the humor of Hook or Leech, and the strained sprightliness of Pierce Egan; with inane depictions of "genteel" humanity and Daumier's vigorous facing of life. The nineteenth century had a remarkable variety. It will not do to dismiss it with airy allusions to the Victorian age. "We must not think of these seventy years as having a fixed likeness one to another," Trevelyan warned.

The keepsake represents a particularly characteristic phase of the taste of the time, and helps us to understand the ideals and taste in literature, art, typography, binding, and book-making as a whole. To a large extent the product of fashions and fads, it yet yields some reflection of the deeper-lying spirit of its age.

*(From the Library's large collection of keepsakes,  
an exhibit has been arranged in the Treasure Room.)*

## Eugene Delatre

By ARTHUR W. HEINTZELMAN

**B**EFORE leaving for France last November on a mission for the French Government to arrange for exchange exhibits between our two countries, I received a letter from Madame Zelina Delâtre, granddaughter of Auguste Delâtre, great printer of the Golden Age of Engraving, and daughter of Eugène Delâtre, equally well known as a printer of the modern masters of the past half-century. She wrote expressing a wish that the complete *oeuvre* of her father be placed in the Print Department of the Boston Public Library beside those French masters, so well represented in our collection, whose plates were printed and interpreted by her father and grandfather. These portfolios would also contain letters and other personal documents of great interest and of historical importance to the print world.

This collection was well known to me as my apprenticeship in printing of several years was under the guidance of Eugène Delâtre, and many of the plates I made during my prolonged residence in France were printed by him. During this time a rare friendship and an appreciation and knowledge of his work developed.

To know the art of this rare personality who sacrificed himself for others, was to perceive the history of Montmartre and the artists who worked there during the last fifty years. Eugène Delâtre was not only a great printer but an artist as well, recognized as an etcher of note and an innovator in the color print process.

In a letter to Madame Delâtre I mentioned that I would be in Paris in a few weeks, and that I would be pleased to see the collection, and make arrangements for its acceptance by the Boston Public Library. I remembered these prints, many of them running through a number of states, recalling old Montmartre, which has now almost entirely disappeared. The old café, "Le Lapin Agile," where artists, writers, and musicians congregated to sing, play, read, and show their latest work



with the evening ending in all singing "Le Temps de Cerises," the Place du Tertre and the narrow streets that resounded with the clatter of the sabots of the children, whom Poulbot immortalized and the walled-in gardens — all these have long since been forgotten because of progress.

One cannot think of Eugène Delâtre without mentioning his famous father, known by the younger artists as "Le Petit Père Delâtre," who was their master. Eugène, working beside his father from an early age, benefited by his craftsmanship, creative ability, and unusual imagination. His visual memory was extraordinary, and his enthusiasm for other artists' work held no limitations. Auguste Delâtre's criticism was sought by those who were more talented, and whose work is among the masterpieces of today. His atelier was a haven for free-thinking artists believing in progress during a moment when Paris was ridden with unrest and revolution. He was an exacting master and idealist, but there was the balance of great generosity and fellowship as well.

Eugène remembered how, when he was six years old, shots fired by a German battery outside the city bombarded Paris every day at five o'clock. One of these missiles crashed through the roof of his father's atelier and destroyed it by fire. He recounted to me on several occasions how he and his mother took refuge in the vaults of the Panthéon while his father was on duty in the National Guard.

It seemed logical that Eugène should follow in the footsteps of his father, and inevitable that he should continue as a great printer with another generation of engravers. From his tender years he worked in all the copper plate media, and he mentioned that it was through his attempts at wood-engraving that he acquired the feeling for black and white. With the plates of such masters as James McNeill Whistler, Seymour Haden, Meryon, Charles Jacque, Alphonse Legros, and others of the period as a guide, and his father's keen interpretation of the work before him, no better school could be imagined, for he served an apprenticeship that could not be duplicated today.

Eugène Delâtre related the story of his youth to me on several occasions. I can well remember his telling me of a letter written to his father by Whistler, asking him to come to Lon-



*Self-Portrait of Eugène Delâtre*



don to make corrections on several of his plates and to pull some impressions for him. The letter came at a time when his father was in financial difficulty. Always accompanying his father, he left for London where he remained for five years, 1871-1876. This letter will soon be in the collection of the Boston Public Library along with other original data which concern Auguste Delâtre's associations with artists of the Golden Age of Engraving. He recalled meeting Whistler and his brother-in-law Seymour Haden, who at that period led the way to a renaissance in etching, and the privilege of working beside his father in Whistler's studio while proofs were being pulled.

Although journeys to London at the request of Whistler were quite frequent, the elder Delâtre was too much of a Parisian to remain there for as long as he did on this first occasion. In 1876 he set up an atelier in the rue de la Villette for a brief period, and shortly afterward left that address to establish himself at No. 22 rue Tourlague, which is now the location of the Archeological Society of Vieux Montmartre.

It was at this time, although still in his early teens, that Eugène began seriously working with the etching and drypoint needle. All of his training, which was in great part gained through practical experience and constant association with his father, was now to bear fruit. After another brief period the workshop was finally established permanently at 87 rue Lepic, the atelier that I knew so well. It was here that the younger Delâtre became famous as a printer after his father's death in 1907.

One climbed the rue Lepic, almost too steep for human feet, to No. 87, where entrance was gained through a huge wooden gate on iron hinges and with a rustic ring which opened the latch. This led to a cobblestoned courtyard, where at the further end one entered the famous studio which shut out the material world, and where, could the walls speak, the history of graphic arts would be the richer.

On entering one was conscious of serious work; there was criticism or comparison of a newly pulled proof with the *bon-à-tirer*, with artist and printer leaning over the impression turned over on the ground of the press. Charles Jacque's old wooden press was still producing superb prints. It almost

seemed as though the autographed photographs and portrait drawings on the walls left by Auguste Delâtre looked down on the new generation with encouragement and approval. In the midst of this setting was Eugène Delâtre with large felt hat, flowing black tie, corduroy jacket, and voluminous trousers in old Montmartre fashion working, advising, and giving generously of his knowledge and experience. There was always a special piece of antique *papier de Chine* or *verdâtre* for a plate he considered worthy of special recognition. On leaving this unique atmosphere and being in possession of the master printer's interpretation of one's latest effort, it seemed as though inspiration and the desire to create held no bounds.

Many artists of note passed through the old gate at No. 87, where Eugène Delâtre took up the work of his father. Plates of Rops, Bracquemond, Desboutin, Mary Cassatt, and the work of Buhot, Pissarro, Renoir, Manet, and others were also proven.

Delâtre's love of Montmartre is apparent throughout his *oeuvre*, and over the many years of his residence there he could be seen with sketchbook in hand drawing the endless subjects which confronted him on all sides. As a draughtsman and painter he made his debut at the Salon des Artistes Français in 1881-1882 with watercolors and drawings of his beloved Montmartre. One of the exhibits depicted the historic monument of the Moulin de la Galette. This old mill ceased its activity of grinding seeds for perfume in 1872.

Delâtre was one of the few artists who really got the atmosphere of the "Butte," and, being so much a part of it, he knew how it should be interpreted with needle, crayon, or brush in all its moods, character, and poetry. He published a portfolio of its old streets: rue des Saules, rue de l'Abreuvoir, rue de Mont Cenis, rue Saint Vincent, rue de Norvins, and others, not forgetting Place du Tertre, la Vacherie de la rue Constance, le Château des Brouillards, the church Saint Pierre, and the Moulin de Bray, which of necessity must be included in the set.

Delâtre's real contribution to the print world was his color prints, in which medium he was an innovator. His contribution was in making a color print from several plates, instead of one as had previously been the practice in mezzotint, aquatint, and stipple-engraving. In 1898 a comprehensive exhibition of his



color prints was held at the Durand-Ruel Galleries in Paris.

The method of the plates and printing is interesting. After having established a watercolor drawing using only the primary colors (yellow, red, blue), the artist makes a detailed sketch on the copper in pure etching, touched with drypoint, and sometimes makes use of aquatint and even soft-ground. He uses this first plate for the printing of the darkest tone, then he pulls a proof in black, which he then transfers to a copper plate. The second tone is engraved on this new plate, and so on until the lightest tones are reached. He then prints the plates successively, beginning with the lighter tones.

His printing proceeded in the following order: yellow, red, blue, and black (black when there are four plates). The etcher has previously made two holes through the plates with a drill in order to be able to register them with the use of pins, and prints his successive proofs, taking care that the paper should not dry, because the shrinking might prevent the register marks from matching.

This process was handed on to Raffaelli, de Latenay, Luigi Loir, and Fritz Thaulow. It is the method employed by Rouault and several other well-known contemporary artists. This period was perhaps the most brilliant in Eugène Delâtre's atelier. Steinlen, Toulouse-Lautrec, Willette, Louis Legrand, Leheutre, and Lepère were constant visitors seeking his aid in printing and executing their plates.

Although he never relinquished his belief that the printing of an etching, drypoint, or engraving from one plate should be in black and white, his interest for several years was possessed with a passion for the color print; and in 1893 he was one of the founders of the Society of Original Color Engraving.

Delâtre's studio became the center of printmaking, and an old friend of the printer's related to me that there was much bending over proofs and long discussions about them, including adverse criticism and praise. It was a meeting place where true collaboration gave birth to ideas and innovations, from which many artists of the period profited, particularly those whose activities centered in Montmartre.

Eugène Delâtre adopted the "Butte," and like the Montmartre singers he sang the praises of his little native land with

etching needle and crayon to record its history which has since lost its artistic atmosphere and original identity. At the turn of the century he had only to take a few steps up the rue Lepic to dominate the entire panorama of Paris. In his prints one finds a reflection of what Montmartre was, and there is almost a trace of a tear in several of his later prints, "Les Derniers Moulins" and "Montmartre s'en va."

For a few years before his death Delâtre made etchings, drawings, and watercolors in several of the provinces of France. The once active atelier bursting with creative talent now became but a memory. However, Eugène Delâtre, accomplished artist and illustrious printer, could look back with rich satisfaction on his great past. His *oeuvre* is considerable and contains approximately six hundred items, all of which are now in the possession of the Print Department of the Boston Public Library.

Although his name has not the universal recognition of a number of the artists he helped to fame, we who knew him can look back upon the accomplishment of this craftsman, innovator, and etcher as an artist's artist, which is an important achievement in itself. All who have benefited by Delâtre's expert knowledge know that it was at a sacrifice to himself, and that their road was made easier through his great generosity and self-immolation. They will sing his praises personally and through their work as long as the history of prints is written.

There had been dreams among artists and friends of creating a Delâtre Museum, similar to the famous Musée Plantin at Antwerp, which would through its treasures recall a century of the history of etching. This dream however is not to be realized; but, happily for us, the work of Eugène Delâtre has not been dispersed; it is safely housed in the Print Department of the Boston Public Library. The memory and history of Old Montmartre depicted by one of its favorite sons can be found among the masters whose work bears the signature of Auguste and Eugène Delâtre.

## Notes on Rare Books and Manuscripts

### Letters by Longfellow to Elizabeth Stuart Phelps

IN the manuscript collections of the Boston Public Library are twelve letters written by Henry W. Longfellow to Elizabeth Stuart Phelps Ward between April, 1876, and August, 1881. They are interesting literary documents, recording the cordial relationship between the aging poet and the successful young writer. The letters also reflect the charm and kindness which characterized Longfellow, especially in his last years.

Almost entirely forgotten today, Elizabeth Stuart Phelps was a prolific novelist from 1868, the publication date of *The Gates Ajar*, until her death in 1911, at the age of sixty-seven. Her background, as the daughter of Austin Phelps, an Andover theologian, was intellectual and deeply spiritual. Still in her thirties, she was a friend of the great New England literary figures — Longfellow, Whittier, Holmes, Emerson, Brooks, and others. A moralist who fought for causes such as women's rights, temperance, and anti-vivisection, she was best-known as a novelist; *The Gates Ajar* reached a circulation of a hundred thousand copies in America, and was even better received in England.

The letters show Longfellow's modesty in a period in which he was adored — and was imposed upon by his admirers. Throughout the group, the harrowing effects of insomnia, which troubled both authors, form a constant theme. On April 11, 1877, Longfellow thanked Miss Phelps for sleeping powders she had sent him. "Great is Hahnemann and, you are his prophet!" he declared and he assured her that if the remedy continued successful, he would "bless the day and the hour and the giver." Samuel C. F. Hahnemann (1755-1843), the German physician and founder of homeopathy, to whom Longfellow referred, was famous in both Europe and America for his experiments with various drugs. In a later letter, the poet sympathized with the "sleepless and suffering" Miss Phelps, and asked:

Why will the busy brain go on all night, swinging its arms about like a windmill, when it has nothing to grind but itself?

Della Casa has written a beautiful Sonnet on Sleep, but he would have been a greater benefactor to some of his readers, if he had discovered a remedy for insomnia.

Ten days later, Longfellow wrote again of the Della Casa sonnet, offering to send his correspondent a translation of it, remarking, however, that it did not put him to sleep but rather kept him awake. In the same letter, he brought a "new remedy" to Miss Phelps's attention, that of imitating the breathing of a sleeping person. But he had little faith in that either. "All these various remedies seem to me," he wrote, "like recipes for French dishes. There is always some ingredient in them not to [be] found in this country. The result is failure." At the end of the letter, he referred to his poem dedicated to the children of Cambridge, advising Miss Phelps, "If all other soporifics fail, try this."

Longfellow's criticism of Miss Phelps's writing is an example of the encouragement he was happy to give. "Your poem is very simple and sweet," he wrote about "The Poet and the Poem," on April 6, 1876. It is not irrelevant to add that the poem concerns Longfellow's own *Evangeline*, describing a Friends almshouse, the possible model of the one in which the Acadian girl found the dying Gabriel. Replying to Miss Phelps's question about such a house in Philadelphia, Longfellow stated: "The cottage I do not remember; only an enclosure, with tall trees and brick walls; just enough for the imagination to work upon, and no more." (The sentence was incorporated into another letter by Samuel Longfellow in his *Final Memorials of Henry Wadsworth Longfellow*, Boston, 1887, p. 245.)

One of Miss Phelps's best-known novels, *The Story of Avis*, was highly commended by Longfellow in October, 1877: "I am particularly struck by the style; so fresh and original, and different from any other. One cannot prize such individuality too highly. It is the flavor of fruit, or rather, is to a book what flavor is to fruit, and tone is to the voice." A year and a half later, he assured her that he had neither "changed nor modified [his] opinion." What Longfellow most admired about Miss Phelps was her ability to depict female characters; and he apparently sympathized with her "modern" woman seeking adjustment in a new and complicated life. On March 17, 1879, he again wrote about *Avis*: "If you should never write another book, you might be content with having given the most beautiful analysis of a noble woman's nature, that I have seen in any work of fiction." He also admired *Friends: A Duet*, 1881, for its sensitive portrayal of women.

Other efforts of Miss Phelps, too, received Longfellow's commendation. "Victurae Salutamus," written for the first commence-



ment of Smith College, he found "original . . . and very suggestive." *Sealed Orders*, a collection of stories which appeared in 1880, was praised: "The story that most touched and interested me was 'The Voyage of the America.' I do not know that it is better than others in the volume, but it appeals most to the imagination, and one might write a poem on the subject, if 'The Ancient Mariner,' had never been written. Fortunately it has been."

That Miss Phelps, a woman struggling for recognition in a literary world in which she was not wholly accepted, appreciated Longfellow's sympathy is evident from her autobiographical work, *Chapters from a Life*, published in 1896. "I have . . . never met," she wrote, "any other man who showed . . . such a marvelous intuition in the comprehension of an unusual woman . . . 'The Story of Avis' was a woman's book, hoping for small hospitality at the hands of men."

The letters also offer a few glimpses of Longfellow's life after his return from his last trip abroad. His friends, George W. Greene, the grandson and biographer of General Nathanael Greene, and James Fields, the publisher, and his wife, Annie Fields, are mentioned several times. References are made to Longfellow's later work, such as *Ultima Thule* and *The Poems of Places*. The poet's daily life is described and his opinions on current affairs are related. On March 31, 1877, he wrote:

Tennyson's "roaring moon of daffodil and crocus" is ending very quietly to-day; and though I like all kinds of weather, I am not sorry to have the Spring come again.

This afternoon we have been to hear Wagner's opera of Lohengrin. It is a stupendous performance; an "exulting and abounding river" of sound, that bears you onward with a great rush, and without a break from beginning to end. It is really marvellous, and has left a deep impression on my mind of Wagner's power and mastery over all instruments. The horns, which I like so much, play a great part in the opera.

Dickens is mentioned in an anecdote. Expressing his gratitude to Miss Phelps for a story she had sent him, Longfellow noted: "It reminds me of my once showing to Dickens his works upon my book-shelves, and his exclaiming; 'Sh, I see you read the good authors.'"

Longfellow cheerfully accepted the admiration of the public, although at times it must have proved burdensome. He described the celebration of his seventy-third birthday by the children of



Cincinnati: "The celebration of my unfortunate birthday by the Schools of the West has overwhelmed me with letters. Fifteen thousand school girls have driven over me with all their horses, as Tullia did over the body of her father in the streets of Rome. There is no life left in me." His reaction to the newspaper story of the country girls who "escaped" to the city and paused outside Craigie House, not daring to enter, is likewise entertaining:

I found in the Transcript the letter of the young Bohemian girls. I wish they had not stopped outside my gate, but had come in. I should have been greatly pleased to see two such erratic heavenly bodies.

I am only afraid that such proceedings as theirs will fire too many restless young hearts in country towns. I suppose we all have a drop of gipsy blood in us; and want to break through the invisible bars of our surroundings. No one seems quite content with a life limited to fourteen lines, like a sonnet. It might be otherwise, if lives thus limited were really sonnets.

The poet's last letter is dated August 21, 1881 — seven months before his death.

MARY L. HEGARTY

### A Stephen O'Meara Collection

A COLLECTION of letters, speeches, testimonials, and other items bearing on the various activities of the late Stephen O'Meara, editor and publisher of the *Boston Journal* and Police Commissioner of the City of Boston, has been presented to the Boston Public Library by his daughters, Miss Alice O'Meara and Miss Lucy O'Meara, of Northampton, Massachusetts. In addition, there are thousands of newspaper clippings, excerpts from magazine articles, programs of meetings, and invitations to gatherings of local, state, and national interest, together with some items relating to Mr. O'Meara's two extensive European tours in 1903 and 1906.

The correspondence includes letters of O'Meara to his wife, and letters from such distinguished men as Theodore Roosevelt, Edward Everett Hale, Henry Cabot Lodge, John D. Long, Samuel Hoar, Frank A. Munsey, Joseph Pulitzer, and others. Many of them contain comments on current affairs. The letters dealing with journalism and newspapers — particularly those about the change in

ownership of the *Boston Journal* at the time of O'Meara's resignation as editor and publisher, and those about the Associated Press, the American Newspaper Publishers' Association, and the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* — are informative.

The very comprehensive group of newspaper clippings and cuttings from magazine articles relates to O'Meara's public life from 1877 until his death on December 14, 1918. He served as president of the Charlestown High School Association, and of the Boston Press Club, and was affiliated with the New England Associated Press and the National Associated Press; he ran for Congress in 1904, for Mayor of Boston in 1906, and again for Congress in 1910. The itineraries of his European trips are supplemented by letters of advice from friends experienced in European travel.

At the time of his death Stephen O'Meara was thus described by a friend: "He was an honest, gentle, fearless, modest public servant whose experience demonstrated the value to the community of a man whose heart and conscience combined to guide him in the discharge of public duty."

### Valentine Writers' Manuals

THE history of valentines includes many interesting productions, and among the best of them are the "Valentine Writers" or collections of verses, scores of which were published in England in the early nineteenth century, when the custom of sending cards on February 14th first became popular. The Rare Book Department of the Boston Public Library has a number of such chapbooks.

In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries a "valentine" was something substantial — a present, often quite expensive, given on St. Valentine's Day. Pepys records spending five pounds for his wife's valentine, and notes that the Duke of York gave a certain lady a jewel worth £800. At first most valentine cards were hand-made; and, since not everyone had the talent to compose the necessary poem, manuals of ready-made verses enjoyed great popularity. They included three types: the serious, the comic, and the professional, suited to some particular trade.

The earliest and one of the most charming of the group is *Cupid's Annual Charter*, published about 1810 by W. Perks. Its colored frontispiece shows a young man in yellow knee-breeches pointing out the way to church to a shy young woman in white. Each valentine is followed by an answer. Most of the latter are kind, but some

are tart; a Cottage Maid, for example, declines a rich marriage with the remark: "Equal marriages are best, Vanity don't fill my breast." The tone of the comic valentines is mild. An Old Maid is urged: "Assume a smile, fling off that chilling frown, Discard that antique twirling ivory fan, Hang both your parrot and your tabby cat, And change your monkey for a smart young man."

The same publisher, a few years later, produced *The School of Love*. Here the emphasis is on verses suited to every conceivable occupation, from actor through waterman, most of them punning on words, or making pertinent comparisons. Thus the poem "From a Publican or a Brewer" includes the lines "As strong as malt the love I bear, As ale both clear and fine." The Fishmonger likens his sweetheart's red lips to a lobster's shell, while the Greengrocer writes "No cauliflower half so white As is your skin, my sole delight." One of the best verses is from the Stationer, who after comparing his love's eyes to ink, and her complexion to white paper, cries: "Like sealing-wax before the fire, I melt away with fond desire!" But the answer that follows is scornful: "Sealing-wax soon melts away . . . Paper will tear and ink will fade, No emblem lasting have you made." The pamphlet has a colored frontispiece in the style of Thomas Rowlandson, showing the "School of Love."

A nineteenth-century owner of the Library's copy of *The Cabinet of Love*, published by T. Tegg in 1812, marked several of the poems and rewrote others. In one case the word "damn'd" did not suit him, and he genteelly cut out the offending line. Most of the selections are sentimental and flowery, addressed "To a Lady" or "To a Gentleman," but there are also several to and from various tradesmen.

Sarah Wilkinson, author of such popular Gothic thrillers as *The Spectre* and *Monkcliffe Abbey* was responsible for *Love and Hymen*, published about 1820. Here the verses are serious and romantic, with many conventional references to nymphs and bowers. The colored frontispiece, however, is in quite a different style, with verses addressed to Cinderella, the queen of the London dust-hill. The picture shows "a little dirty Cupid" sitting on an ash-heap, with Cinderella holding a sieve. "Sifters" in her trade searched the ashes for valuables, and were paid a shilling a day plus half the worth of what they found.

The frontispiece of *The Tradesman's New Valentine Writer*, published in the 1830's by Dean and Munday, illustrates eleven of the forty-eight trades it covers, which include those of an anchor-smith, plaisterer, and undertaker. Several of the verses have evidently been taken from earlier collections; and after each valentine are two answers, favorable and unfavorable. Thus the Butler's offer of

"good cheer" can be accepted with the words: "Since so kind your invitation, And so good your situation, Willingly I'll taste your wine, And gladly be your Valentine"; or he can be rebuked: "Why should you my friend make free With another's property? . . . Till you buy your ale and wine, I'll not be your Valentine."

As time went on, valentines tended to be more sharply divided into serious and comic, the former taking on an early Victorian tone of solemn sentiment. In *Park's Guide to Hymen* most of the verses are of the first type. Many of them have been lifted from other sources: "From a Shepherd," for example, is an adaptation of Marlowe's "The Passionate Shepherd to His Love." The volume has no date, but the costumes in the elaborate folding frontispiece seem to place it at about 1840. It shows a gentleman and lady in a park, surrounded by cupids. *Richardson's New London Fashionable Gentleman's Valentine Writer* dates from the same time, or perhaps a few years earlier, for the lady on the fringed sofa in its frontispiece wears the puffed sleeves and ringlets of that period.

Two other collections, *The Ladies and Gentlemen's Valentine Writer* and *The Quizzical Valentine Writer*, were printed in the 1840's and 1850's. Each consists of only eight or ten pages, published as part of a chapbook series. Neither has a frontispiece, but they are illustrated with crude comic woodcuts; both show how the comic valentine, originally a mild joke, had become increasingly coarse. In *The Quizzical Valentine Writer*, the verses "To an Old Maid" tell her that she is despised by men, and only fit "to sit and chat To some vile Monkey or Tom Cat." When she is dead, it prophesies, no friends will come to her funeral, but her corpse will be "by monkeys borne, While Cats in hideous concert join." An interesting topical piece is the one addressed "To a Lady Fond of Reading Novels" — apparently both novels of sentiment and tales of horror, for the second verse runs: "Monks, spectres, and romantic scenes Appear to be your glory; But study more domestic means, And not 'A Simple Story.'" *A Simple Story* was the most successful novel of Elizabeth Inchbald, actress and friend of William Godwin. It contrasts the results of good and bad education, with many tearful scenes.

The custom of sending valentine cards had declined by the end of the century. Christmas cards, invented at about that time, almost completely displaced them. Though the custom later returned, it has never since been observed as widely as during the early eighteenthundreds.

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THE  
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EDITOR: ZOLTÁN HARASZTI

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# THE Boston Public Library QUARTERLY

OCTOBER 1952

## "Not Men, But Books"

By LEWIS P. SIMPSON

ON April 16, 1815, two young Bostonians, George Ticknor and Edward Everett, embarked on a packet bound out of Boston for Liverpool. In England they spent a few pleasant weeks visiting, chiefly in London. On June 30 they left for the Continent, proceeded shortly afterward to Germany, and on August 4 took up residence as students at the University of Göttingen. Ticknor concluded his studies in March 1817, Everett in September of the same year. For two years thereafter they traveled about Europe, studying, observing, and collecting books. In June 1819 Ticknor returned to Boston, and two months later began his teaching career at Harvard as the first Smith Professor of the French and Spanish Languages and Literatures. In September Everett came back, to assume the Professorship of Greek at Harvard.<sup>1</sup>

The four years Ticknor and Everett devoted to study and travel in Europe bear significant relations to the history of letters and learning in this country. Some of these can be readily summarized. In the widest sense, their European sojourn strengthened and broadened the cosmopolitan tradition in American letters, as opposed to both the British and the nationalistic traditions. More specifically, it afforded the most intimate and productive contact with the methods of German education and scholarship yet made by any Americans; it prepared the

way for a long succession of American youths to make the same acquaintance; through Ticknor it influenced the introduction of modern languages and literatures at Harvard and elsewhere; and through Everett it promoted the advanced study of Greek literature in America.

Looking back in its centennial upon the Boston Public Library's establishment, however, one may well emphasize still another result of Ticknor's and Everett's journey. It inspired the first thinking in Boston about founding a library comparable to the great public libraries they had visited in Europe. The time was far from ripe for such a venture in Boston; but the idea persisted, for it was based on a conviction held strongly by both Ticknor and Everett that books are the fundamental resource of culture. This was the conception which had largely inspired and shaped their first journey abroad; and some forty years later, in 1856-57, the same idea sent Ticknor to Europe on his fruitful book-buying mission for the newly-founded Boston Public Library.<sup>2</sup>

It would seem that the inspiration of books could hardly be called unusual. Yet in its original context it possessed enough novelty to lead Ticknor and Everett to embrace an educational philosophy somewhat contrary to the one embodied in their heritage. Because it illuminates the results of their first journey to Europe, including the genesis of the idea of the Boston Public Library, their attitude toward books and travel is worth attention. It is the purpose, therefore, of the present article to present their background as European travelers, and to reveal the significance of their intention in going abroad.

About the latter there is a diversity of opinion. One writer defines their motive simply as a "romantic impulse"; another states that Ticknor went overseas "to broaden his general education and to collect a private library"; a third remarks that Ticknor went to the Old World "to bring home the spoils of culture, a mission he undertook at a propitious time." Van Wyck Brooks, following Henry Adams, points primarily to the influence of Madame de Staël's *De l'Allemagne* and to Ticknor's and Everett's belief in the scholar's mission.<sup>3</sup> These interpretations imply divergent assumptions about the cultural motives of the period: the burgeoning romanticism of the century,

the traditional British attitudes toward the educational value of travel, a spiritual and intellectual quest after cultural riches, and finally the Anglo-Saxon awakening to German culture. Such differences are of course not necessarily irreconcilable. They can be fitted into a pattern. But, considered singly or collectively, they do not reveal the basic intention of Ticknor's and Everett's travels. This intention comes clearly to light against the background of eighteenth-century British travel conventions and the relation of these conventions to the literary culture of Boston.

During the period from about 1550 to 1650, the English upper classes turned travel abroad for their sons into a part of the educational system. The underlying theory was a noble one, uniting practical and moral ends. It held a Continental tour, often called the "Grand Tour," to be the indispensable climax to the young gentleman's formal schooling. It was the means not only of educating him for service to the state, but of bringing forth his latent social and intellectual resources. It proposed to transform the school-boy into a cosmopolitan gentleman. When the differences between the theory and practice became evident, the gentleman traveler fell prey to the satirists, nowhere more than in the *Dunciad*. But even Pope's pen could not vanquish respect for a system so thoroughly embedded in a tradition stemming from the Renaissance; and, though travel for education tended to degenerate into a social ritual, and the attitude toward it took on a dilettantish cast, its idealism endured throughout the eighteenth century.<sup>4</sup> This Renaissance emphasis, in fact, found its strongest expression in Lord Chesterfield, to whom the central use of travel was the fusion of the knowledge of books (gained at home) with the knowledge of men, their affairs, and customs (gained by travel). Consequently, he looked upon his son's tour abroad as the most crucial stage in his education, for it must serve "to join . . . books and the world."<sup>5</sup>

Chesterfield's opinion, however, is not typical of his age. In the *Spectator*, No. 364, occurs a more representative comment on the "general notion of travelling, as it is now made a part of education." Here travel is presented simply to make the young gentleman "acquainted with men and things." He is to



learn something about the customs and policies of foreign countries; to improve his manners "by a more, free, general, and mixed conversation"; to heighten his taste for the classical writers by visiting the scenes of their lives; and, gazing upon the relics of antiquity, to moralize upon "the ruinous alterations" of "time and barbarity" and the virtues of the great Romans.<sup>6</sup> Yet although the weakening of travel idealism is well represented in the *Spectator*, Chesterfield's attitude was not completely anachronistic. It was the final celebration of a compelling social aspiration. Seldom fully realized in practice, it continued to exert its appeal even as the circumstances which had created it ceased to exist.

WHAT was the connection between Ticknor's and Everett's first European journey and the long-lived British theory of travel for education? The question leads us to ask how travel and education were related in the Anglicized, homogenous, patrician society which reared the two Bostonians.

Fearing change in a changing world, the Boston intellectuals sought in the era before the second war with England to shape letters and learning in the secure image of the British Augustan Age. As a result, their community tended to be a more self-conscious provincial microcosm of the British world than it had been in the colonial past or would be in the national future. On the other hand, Boston's literary culture in the late 1790's and early 1800's shows an inner vigor; and one should not overemphasize its attachment to a decadent neo-classicism. In this period the Bostonians renewed Harvard, founded the Massachusetts Historical Society and other learned organizations, and the Boston Athenaeum. They also instituted the Anthology Society (1805-1811) and published the *Monthly Anthology and Boston Review* (1803-1811), the most substantial periodical issued in the United States in its day; and helped to write and edit the *Literary Miscellany* (1804-1806) and the *General Repository and Review* (1812-1813), two periodicals published at Cambridge. They concerned themselves with raising the standards of book publication and with bringing out notable foreign works under American imprints. The Reverend

Joseph Stevens Buckminster, for instance, aided by William Wells, edited and published at Cambridge in 1808 an edition of Griesbach's *Greek Testament*, before the work had come out in England.

Closely related to these activities were their travels to England and the Continent. These were numerous; among Ticknor's and Everett's slightly older contemporaries travel abroad was virtually a commonplace. Perhaps the most influential among these travelers was their friend and counsellor Buckminster, whose early death in 1812 left vacant the pulpit, subsequently occupied by Everett, at the Brattle Street Church. Buckminster's companion on his tour was the Reverend Samuel Cooper Thacher, pastor of the New South Church. Others included Arthur Maynard Walter, Dr. James Collins Warren, Dr. James Jackson, Edmund Trowbridge Dana, the Reverend Charles Lowell, and Winthrop Sargent, all with the exception of Lowell members of the Anthology circle. Still more extensively traveled were Washington Allston and William Tudor. Allston came back to Boston in 1809 to spend two years there painting and composing poems. He had been in Europe for almost ten years and would return for seven more. No other traveler from the Boston world had such an intimate knowledge of art and letters abroad as this transplanted Southerner. Tudor, son of Colonel William Tudor who had *entré* to the court of King George and many aristocratic houses, was a veteran European sojourner by the time the Anthology Society was organized. One might also mention John Pickering of Salem, Harvard graduate and corresponding member of the Anthology Society.

None of these men thought of travel as the ordained climax to his graduation from Harvard. Travel for education in the sense of the Grand Tour had never been a custom in America, much less a part of the educational system. In colonial days missions of business, health, or professional training sent American youths abroad, and after the Revolution travel continued to remain of an expedient character. Yet the Bostonians, bred to respect letters and learning, seriously endeavored to exploit the educational possibilities of travel. They went to Europe to "be made acquainted with men and things" as well

as to do business, seek health, or learn a profession; and some of them went more for literary and intellectual reasons than any other. To make the most of their travels they followed the theory of travel which they had inherited from the British eighteenth century. It largely determined the kind of education they got in Europe. A glance into their letters and journals will sufficiently prove this.

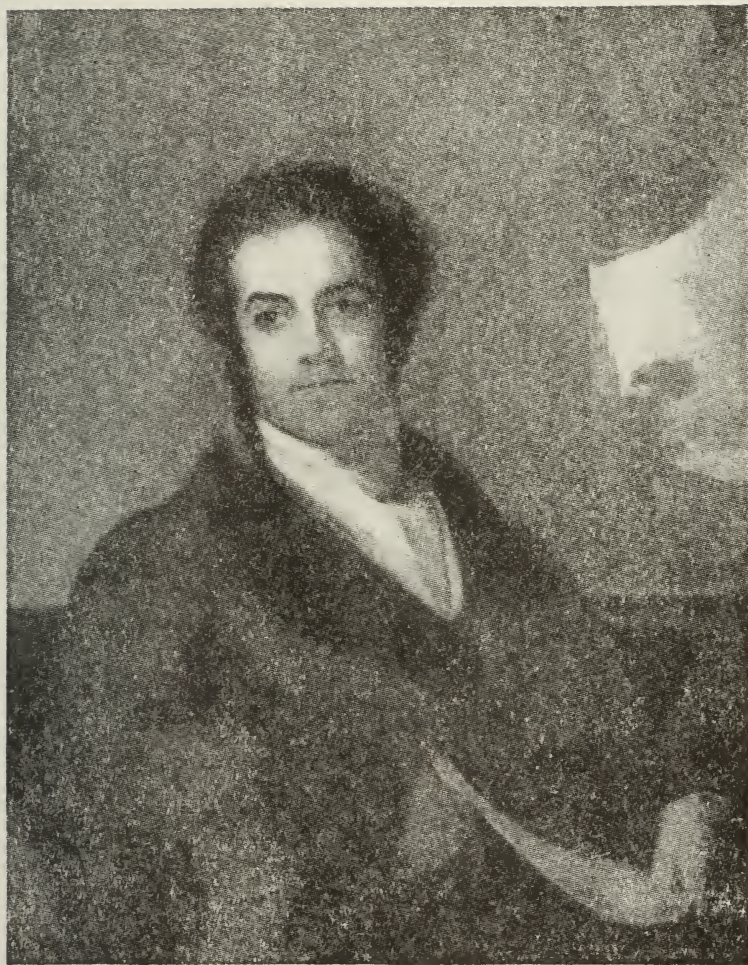
First, they sought an education in men, chiefly men of letters whom they revered and imitated before they met them. When his friend Walter left for England in 1802, William Smith Shaw remarked: "He has letters which will introduce him to gentlemen of respectability, and thus render his journey pleasant and improving."<sup>7</sup> So with his fellows. In Liverpool, London, Edinburgh, Paris, Rome, and the cities of the Low Countries, the Boston youths assiduously searched out literary celebrities. Walter himself found Liverpool "a place for the slave trade . . . dirty, smoky and disagreeable," but the city's vile-ness was alleviated by that great literary attraction, William Roscoe, who founded the Liverpool Athenaeum and wrote the *Life of Lorenzo de Medici*. Lawyer, business man, patron of the arts and learning, and scholar, Roscoe was the kind of gentleman Walter himself aspired to be. "He is a plain, grave looking man," Walter informed Shaw, "silent in company, and rich."<sup>8</sup> London naturally was a far more abundant hunting ground than Liverpool or even the European cities. Here the young Bostonians made numerous acquaintances with well-known scholars, editors, critics, and ministers. In his London journal Buckminster notes:

*Tuesday, June 26th.* [1806] Dined with Dr. Rees, editor of the Encyclopedia. Introduced to Dr. Aiken and his son Charles. To Mr. Jones, the author of a Greek grammar. At the dinner there was a truly pleasant and instructive conversation. It turned upon the evidences of a future state from the light of nature. Dr. Rees is a man of amiable manners, various learning, some anecdote, and talents more than common.

*Thursday, June 28th.* Breakfasted with Mr. Jones. We had a truly learned and delightful conversation. Mr. Jones had studied with Gilbert Wakefield . . .

*Tuesday.* Dined at Dr. Rees's, with Belsham, Mr. Tooke, Mr. Wil-





*George Ticknor at Thirty-Seven*  
(After Sloane's Copy of the Portrait by Sully)





liam Taylor of Norwich. Conversation delightful. The tone is certainly higher than with us.<sup>9</sup>

And so for a month the young American minister educated himself according to "the voice and conference of men."<sup>10</sup>

The illustrations can be multiplied. Charles Lowell, father of James Russell Lowell, studied informally in Edinburgh under the philosophers Dugald Stewart and Thomas Brown, and made other distinguished acquaintances in the Scottish capital. From there he went to London and Paris. Earlier in the French capital, John Collins Warren was moving in the circle of Napoleon's *savants*, and John Pickering at one of Madame de Staël's *soirées* met Benjamin Constant. Leaving Paris, Pickering journey to Brussels, Ghent, Antwerp, Rotterdam, The Hague, Leyden, Utrecht, Amsterdam, and Haarlem, seeking out well-known persons in each city. On April 28, 1801, to cite one instance, he called upon John Luzac, noted professor of Greek at the University of Leyden, who escorted him to the bookshops and the University. In the evening he attended a party at Luzac's. He notes: "Cards played, supper, songs afterwards. Great gayety. Many of the company spoke English and French."<sup>11</sup>

**I**F the travel records of the New Englanders show us how they educated themselves in men, they also suggest their response to the characters and sights of foreign cities and nations. This aspect of their education abroad illuminates the Boston sensibility in the period. It helps us to understand Ticknor's and Everett's inheritance as travelers, with its strong predisposition to British culture, its antipathy to European squalor, and its superficial grasp of the Catholic impact upon Western civilization. Only the barest illustrations can be given here. John Collins Warren remarks upon his arrival in England in 1799:

I was impressed with a kind of pleasing solemnity, when I touched the land of our forefathers, while I recollected how many important events had been transacted there; how many heroes, statesmen, and philosophers had there displayed their greatness; and how important a part in the theatre of the world was at that moment filled by this little island . . .<sup>12</sup>

William Tudor records his entrance into the Port of Naples in 1802:

The first day after our arrival we were besieged with beggars of every sort. They come off in boats and surround the vessel. One moment a capuchin would extend his cowl, and in a submissive attitude ask our charity; hardly rid of him, before a band of music would be under the stern, till something was obtained; the serenade finished, a woman with three or four miserable children would be screaming for something. These scenes are so new to an American, that we always gave them; and in consequence were so surrounded with supplicants, that we were obliged at last to refuse our charity altogether.<sup>13</sup>

Joseph Stevens Buckminster describes the Cathedral of Strasbourg in the most enthusiastic terms.<sup>14</sup> Such descriptions and observations imply a great deal about the literary and social education of the Bostonians.

A third feature of this education, one closely associated with the Grand Tour tradition, was the classical pilgrimage. But the Italian tour was not as easily made as the English and French tours, and only a few New Englanders before Ticknor and Everett seem to have found it possible. One was William Tudor, who called himself "a classick pilgrim." Reminiscent of Addison's *Remarks on Several Parts of Italy*, his observations on various ancient ruins indicate the intimate classical awareness of the mind schooled from childhood in Roman literature. "Every foot of the place is classick ground," Tudor comments upon the region around the Mare Monte and the Elysian Fields, urging the visitor "to read the sixth book of the Aeneid before he makes this excursion." His remarks also suggest the convention admonishing the traveler to moralize about "the ruinous alterations of time and barbarity" as he views the relics of ancient civilization. "The little ruin called the Tempio di Venere is the most beautiful I have ever seen," Tudor writes:

These and some other shapeless ruins are all that remain of ancient Baiae . . . What a reverse! Even in the most luxurious days of ancient Rome, this place became a proverb from the sensuality and debauchery of its inhabitants, the beauty of the climate, and those fascinating shores, once the theme of the poets and the resort of the dissipated.<sup>15</sup>

Mr. Spectator, needless to say, would have approved the sentiment.

Thus one may see how the British travel idealism, as a part of their cultural heritage, shaped the aims of the Boston travelers. Without the limitations placed on travel by the Napoleonic wars, its educational uses would undoubtedly have been more fully exploited. Even so, the New England travelers, protected in part perhaps by the immunity of innocence, moved about with considerable freedom. They had the opportunity if not "to join books and the world" in Chesterfield's sense, at least to see "men and things."

Yet no matter how seriously the Bostonians responded to the travel idealism, they could not make it truly meaningful to their situation. For it hardly accorded either with their needs or their ambition. Theirs was a becoming, not an established world. Harvard was small, its library severely limited, and its curriculum still rigidly circumscribed; the Boston Athenaeum was no more than a reading room and a repository for curious coins and medals; the *Monthly Anthology* was supported by less than five hundred subscribers. Consider in contrast an ambition like Arthur Maynard Walter's, who, before leaving for Europe in 1802, wrote in his journal:

Literature is my object. I shall buy a good library in London. I shall expend \$1,500 in law books and a private, choice collection. I mean to buy the corner-stones of learning. These must support the building; and others, gradually attained, must contribute to its strength and beauty. The gigantic names of Cudworth, Locke, Milton, Selden, and others, will be first obtained, and, if my money be sufficient, my library will not be small. There is a pathway open in this country to a goodly land. I mean to offer my passport at the turnpike-gate. I mean steadily to study when I return from Europe . . . . All knowledge must be acquired from books, conversation, or reflections upon human nature. Genius may quicken progress, give an energy to our researches; it may illuminate what is obscure. *But to know what have been the collected treasures of the old countries, to investigate our nature by their productions, to measure the mind by the stores of intellect which former ages have furnished, to know how to systematize our researches, how to direct our inquiries, can only be learned from books by continued perseverance in our studies, and by indefatigable diligence in exploring what has been discovered.*<sup>16</sup> Obviously, this went far beyond the British idea of travel for

education. Walter's organizing motive was scholarship; he intended "to measure the mind," not by men, but "by the stores of intellect which former ages have furnished." Among the sources of knowledge, therefore, books assumed priority; they afforded the pathway to the "goodly land" the scholar would create in the New World when he possessed himself, as he was morally bound to do, of his inheritance from the Old World.

Walter's point of view was shared by his friends. Buckminster garnered an elegant private library while he was in Europe, containing more than twenty-six hundred volumes, and probably exceeded in or around Boston only by John Quincy Adams's library. The young minister's library was, Ticknor remembered, "really rich and select."<sup>17</sup> At the same time Buckminster, serving as a voluntary agent, was purchasing a "precious deposit of books" for the Athenaeum.<sup>18</sup> As this interest in books grew, it became increasingly cosmopolitan. Most significantly, it extended to German letters and learning. One can almost certainly ascribe Ticknor's curiosity about things German to his Anthology Society days, when he must have read translations in the *Anthology* of two essays by Charles de Viller, one a description of Göttingen, the other a survey of German literature; and when he must have interested himself in Buckminster's studies in German biblical criticism and in the various books by Germans in the minister's library.<sup>19</sup>

But despite their best efforts, the Boston youths continued to feel the poverty of their literary resources. How could they realize their ambition to be men of letters when the books they needed were mostly still in Europe? Could they only wait for the seemingly distant time when America would have libraries, universities, and traditions like the Old World? These questions Ticknor and Everett attempted to answer.

**B**ORN in Boston in 1791, George Ticknor was the youngest active member of the Anthology Society, which he served as secretary during its declining days. His education was not strictly according to the usual pattern, for he attended Dartmouth, his father's *alma mater*, instead of going to Harvard. After two years at college, which as he recollected in later



years afforded him scant instruction, he returned to Boston to study under the private tutelage of the Reverend John Sylvester John Gardiner, the rector of Trinity Church and president of the Anthology Society, a political and literary conservative. In 1810, Ticknor entered William Sullivan's law offices to prepare for a legal career. "I read law," he remembered, "with some diligence, but not with interest enough to attach me to the profession. I continued to read Greek and Latin, and preferred my old studies to any other."<sup>20</sup> By the time he was nineteen he had become an intimate of the circle that gathered in Buckminster's library on Sunday evenings for supper and conversation. A few years later he decided to give up the law, go to Europe, and become a scholar.

Edward Everett, born in 1794, entered Harvard at the age of thirteen, graduating in August 1811, a short time after the Anthology Society expired. Like Ticknor, he was greatly influenced by Buckminster. Hoping to emulate him, he dedicated himself to the ministry. After receiving his master of arts degree from Harvard in 1813, he was called to fill the pulpit at the Brattle Street Church. He was highly successful as Buckminster's successor, until he decided to accept the new chair of Greek at Harvard and to go to Europe in preparation.

As literary travelers, Ticknor and Everett had certain advantages over Walter, Buckminster, and their precursors. For one thing, they were free to go abroad solely for literary reasons; for another, they traveled chiefly after the Napoleonic wars had ended; for still another, they went to Europe in an era of vigorous American assertion following a long period of uncertainty about the "Great Experiment." Possibly above all they had the benefit of an assurance in the importance of their mission derived from a perceptibly growing sense of literary community in New England. Yet these favorable circumstances did not in themselves assure the Boston youths an educational experience of Europe essentially more productive than Walter's or Buckminster's. They simply helped to make fruitful the signal advantage Ticknor and Everett enjoyed. This was an advantage they created for themselves, and it lies in their attitude toward the traditional concept of travel for education. In a letter to his friend Nathaniel Appleton Haven of



Portsmouth, New Hampshire, written in July 1814, Ticknor states:

My plan, so far as I have one, is to employ the next nine months in visiting the different parts of this country, and in reading those books and conversing with those persons, from whom I can learn in what particular parts of the countries I mean to visit I can most easily compass my objects. The whole tour in Europe I consider a sacrifice of enjoyment to improvement. *I value it only in proportion to the great means and inducements it will afford me to study — not men, but books. Wherever I establish myself, it will be only with a view of labor; and wherever I stay, — even if it be but a week, — I shall, I hope, devote myself to some study, many more hours in the day than I do at home.*

A month later he elaborates upon the purpose of his European journey to Charles Davies of Portland, Maine:

I began, long ago, a course of studies which I well knew I could not finish on this side the Atlantic; and if I do not mean to relinquish my favorite pursuits, and acknowledge that I have trifled away some of the best years of my life, I must spend some time in Italy, France, and Germany, and in Greece, if I can . . . . The truth is, dear Charles, that I have always considered this going to Europe a mere means of preparing myself for greater usefulness and happiness after I return, — as a great sacrifice of the present to the future; and the nearer I come to the time I am to make this sacrifice, the more heavy and extravagant it appears.<sup>21</sup>

The significance of Ticknor's plans is apparent in his simple intention "to study — not men, but books" and in his fixed determination to organize his life in Europe around study. His phrasing, "not men, but books," indicates that he was consciously reversing the accepted theory of travel for education. Unlike Walter, who meant "steadily to study," when he returned from Europe, Ticknor realized Europe itself must be the scene of study. The American scholar longing to inquire into "the stores of intellect" must seek out opportunities commensurate with his ambition. A haphazard tour spent chiefly in conversing, enjoying the scenery, meditating upon antiquity, and collecting books did not yield the requisite opportunities. That Everett regarded his European sojourn in the same way is not explicitly documented by a similar statement. It is, nonetheless, borne out by his interest in study wherever he traveled

in Europe. For instance, explaining his decision to reside in Paris during the winter of 1817 instead of going to Oxford as he had originally planned, Everett says: "But I find even at Paris that I have no object there but study; and Professor Gaisford, at Oxford, writes me that it is in every way better that I should be there in summer, as the library is open a greater part of the day."<sup>22</sup>

**L**EST we interpret Ticknor's and Everett's scholarly ambitions too narrowly, however, we must recall the other side of their story. No matter how devoted to books, they were not in any sense cloistered scholars. Like Chesterfield's, their interest in men was strong and resolute; and in their travels it always overshadowed the Addisonian concern for the scenic and pictorial.

Everywhere they went they made themselves known to those who constituted "the best company."<sup>23</sup> The salons and drawing rooms of Paris, Rome, London, Edinburgh, Madrid, Lisbon, and Athens knew one or both of these Bostonians; and they were not unknown in certain retired settings that harbored celebrities. Indeed the records of their travels echo with the names of the illustrious: Goethe, Madame de Staël, Chateaubriand, Humboldt, Lafayette, Talleyrand, Benjamin Constant, Sismondi, Byron, Wordsworth, and Scott, to mention a few. Ticknor especially was an observant student of men. His "precocious sense of the world"<sup>24</sup> informs almost every page of his letters and journals and renders his impression of post-Napoleonic society vivid and entertaining even today. Perhaps it also gives the clue to his acceptance by the intimate circles of that society. To take one example, he visited at the home of the Duchess de Duras at her "delightful party" for the Duchess of Devonshire when "only five or six persons" were present, among them Chateaubriand, who "read a little romance on the Zegri and Abencerrages of Granada, full of descriptions glowing with poetry . . ."<sup>25</sup> Everett, too, moved freely in European society. On one occasion he was presented to King Louis XVIII; at another time he visited the Duchess d'Angoulême, the daughter of Louis XVI and Marie Antoinette.

However, their absorption in the world of men did not undercut the two young Bostonians' original intention. When Ticknor arrived in Paris from Göttingen, he instituted a routine of language studies beginning at seven in the morning and lasting until five in the afternoon each day. In Rome he studied Italian and, with the aid of "the many books he carried with him" and the advice of an archaeologist, compiled a copious account of ancient Rome. In Madrid, fortified by "a cup of Spanish chocolate, so thick it may almost be eaten with a fork," he sat down to his books at half past five each morning. Later in the day he studied, as he had in Paris, with instructors who came to him. In Lisbon he established himself "near the book-sellers, and the Public Library" to pursue his Portuguese researches. Back in Paris he was soon in "full operation" among the "great treasures" of the King's Library.<sup>26</sup> Everett was perhaps not so methodical as his friend, but his scholarly aims were as determined. In Paris he too spent "many hours a day" in the King's Library, and in Rome he devoted himself to exploring the Vatican libraries. During the latter part of his stay in Europe he was less given to books, since he undertook a hazardous pilgrimage to Greece.<sup>27</sup>

Ticknor and Everett, it becomes apparent, went abroad with a more definite and significant intention than students of their journey have comprehended. It was this intention — "to study, not men, but books" — that shaped their visit to the Old World. Out of it grew an experience of Europe no American had yet had. Transmitting their inspiration to others, they became the vanguard of a long procession of their fellow countrymen including such men as Joseph Green Cogswell, George Bancroft, Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, and John Lothrop Motley. The cumulative impact of these travelers upon the development of American literary and intellectual traditions and institutions would be difficult to overestimate.

More conclusively than any of their predecessors, Ticknor and Everett represented Margaret Fuller's "thinking" American traveler. He is the American visitor to Europe "who, recognizing the immense advantage of being born to a new world and on a virgin soil, yet does not wish one seed from the past to be lost. He is anxious to gather and carry back with him

every plant that will bear a new climate and new culture. Some will dwindle; others will attain a bloom and stature unknown before. He wishes to gather them clean, free from noxious insects, and to give them a fair trial in this new world. And that he may know the conditions under which he may best place them in that new world, he does not neglect to study their history in this."<sup>28</sup>

Every student of New England's culture during the first half of the nineteenth century — from the creation of the Anthology Society to the establishment of the Boston Public Library — must weigh the germinal influence of the resolve of Ticknor and Everett "to study — not men, but books."

## Notes

1. See *Life, Letters, and Journals of George Ticknor*, ed. G. S. Hillard, Mrs. Anna Ticknor, and Miss Anna Eliot Ticknor (Boston, 1876), I, 48-320; Paul Revere Frothingham, *Edward Everett, Orator and Statesman* (Boston and New York, 1925), 36-60. Unless otherwise noted, these works are the sources of information about Ticknor and Everett throughout this article.

2. See *Life of Ticknor*, II, 299-400.

3. See Orie William Long, *Literary Pioneers, Early American Explorers of European Culture* (Cambridge, 1935), v; Robert E. Spiller, *The American in England During the First Half Century of Independence* (New York, 1926), 57-63; *Discovery of Europe*, ed. Philip Rahv (Boston, 1947), 63; Van Wyck Brooks, *The Flowering of New England, 1815-1865* (New York, rev. ed. 1937), 75-7; Henry Adams, *History of the United States During the Administration of Thomas Jefferson* (New York, 1903), I, 94; Samuel Lee Wolff, "Scholars" in *Cambridge History of American Literature*, ed. William P. Trent and others (New York, 1921), IV, 452-3.

4. See E. S. Bates, *Touring in 1600, a Study in the Development of Travel as a Means of Education* (Boston and New York, 1912). Also, see Clare Howard, *English Travellers of the Renaissance* (London, 1914); Ruth Kelso, *The Doctrine of the English Gentleman in the Sixteenth Century in University of Illinois Studies in Language and Literature* (Urbana, 1929), XIV, 142-6; George B. Parks, "Travel as Education" in Richard Foster Jones and others, *The Seventeenth Century, Studies in the History of English Thought and Literature from Bacon to Pope* (Stanford, 1951), 264-90.

5. *The Letters of Philip Dormer Stanhope, Fourth Earl of Chesterfield*, ed. Bonamy Dobrée (New York, 1932), III, 1148. The words occur in a letter from Chesterfield to his son dated May 10, O.S., 1748.

6. In *The British Essayists*, ed. A. Chalmers (Boston, 1864), IX, 304-7.

7. Joseph B. Felt, *Memorials of William Smith Shaw* (Boston, 1852), 160.



8. *Ibid.*, 161-2. The letter is dated December 22, 1802.
9. Quoted from a portion of Buckminster's journal printed in Eliza Buckminster Lee, *Memoirs of Rev. Joseph Buckminster, D.D. and of His Son, Rev. Joseph Stevens Buckminster* (Boston, 1849), 256.
10. The words are in Walsingham's advice to a nephew. See Conyers Read, *Mr. Secretary Walsingham and the Policy of Queen Elizabeth* (Cambridge, 1925), I, 19.
11. Quoted from a portion of Pickering's diary printed in Mary Orne Pickering, *Life of John Pickering* (Boston, 1887), 194.
12. Edward Warren, *The Life of John Collins Warren* (Boston, 1860), I, 26. This passage occurs in a letter from Warren to his father dated August 19, 1799.
13. "Letters from Europe, No. 1." *Monthly Anthology and Boston Review*, III (January, 1806), 4.
14. Lee, *Memoirs of the Buckminsters*, 274-5. From Buckminster's journal.
15. "Original Letters from Europe, No. 5," *Anthology*, III (May, 1806), 227.
16. Quoted in Josiah Quincy, *History of the Boston Athenaeum, with Biographical Notices of Its Deceased Founders* (Cambridge, 1851), 15-6. The italics are mine.
17. From a review of Mrs. Lee's *Memoirs of the Buckminsters* in the *Christian Examiner*, XLVII (September, 1849), 183.
18. Lee, *Memoirs of the Buckminsters*, 408. The remark occurs in a letter from Buckminster to William Smith Shaw dated April 3, 1807.
19. See *Anthology*, II (November, 1805), 607-8; VIII (May, 1810), 345-56. Buckminster's library may be studied in *Catalogue of the Library of the Late Rev. J. S. Buckminster* (Boston, 1812), an auction catalogue. On the general subject of German influence in New England, see Harold S. Jantz, "German Thought and Literature in New England, 1620-1820," *Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, XLI (January, 1942), 1-45. Jantz points out Ticknor's inaccurate recollection of his introduction to German letters.
20. *Life of Ticknor*, I, 9.
21. *Ibid.*, I, 23, 24. The italics are mine. Cf. George Ticknor to Elisha Ticknor, July 6, 1816, in *ibid.*, I, 102; Elisha Ticknor to George Ticknor, August 9, 1815, in *ibid.*, III, 501. Also, cf. George Ticknor to Stephen Higginson, May 20, 1816 in Long, *Literary Pioneers*, 12-3.
22. Frothingham, *Edward Everett*, 42. For the full letter from which this is quoted see T. W. Higginson, "Göttingen and Harvard Eighty Years Ago," *Harvard Graduates' Magazine*, VI (September, 1897), 14-15. It is dated September 17, 1817; the addressee, however, is not identified.
23. Chesterfield, *Letters*, III, 1148.
24. Rahv, *Discovery of Europe*, 63.
25. *Life of Ticknor*, I, 255.
26. *Ibid.*, I, 131-2, 171, 187, 248, 252.
27. Frothingham, *Edward Everett*, 42-60.
28. *The Writings of Margaret Fuller*, ed. Mason Wade (New York, 1941), 424. From a letter by Margaret Fuller to Horace Greeley's *Tribune* in 1848. This letter is quoted in part in Rahv's *Discovery of Europe*, 166-70.



# The Impostures of the Devil

By ZOLTÁN HARASZTI

ONE of the noblest and most important — and also one of the least known — books of the sixteenth century is *De Praestigiis Daemonum* (*The Impostures of the Devil*) by Johann Weyer, first published at Basel in 1563. The author, who wrote under the Latinized name of Wierus, was a native of Grave on the Maas in Brabant and served as physician to the Duke of Cleves from 1550 till 1588, that is, from his thirty-fifth year until his death.

Weyer was a deeply religious man, yet it is doubtful that he believed in the existence of the devil. To be sure, he often speaks of Satan and his demons as the direct originators of many obsessions; but all such references of his leave a taste of scepticism behind, as if they had been used in irony, as a mere form of speech, or simply to cover cases which seemed impossible to explain. And he certainly did not believe in the existence of witches, those poor deluded women — *mulierculae, miseriae, dementate delusiae* — who as the allies and instruments of the devil were supposed to perform the most fantastic supernatural deeds, or rather misdeeds. In an age when the horrible delusion exacted the torture and death of innumerable thousands all over Europe, this simple doctor dared to come forward and declare that all the cruelty and bloodshed were due to bigotry and ignorance. The works of the witches, he stoutly maintained, were nothing but fables, for “all acts which were beyond nature were nothing but illusion and fantasy.” Thoroughly versed in Scripture and the writings of the Church Fathers, Weyer was ready to meet all theological arguments; yet he wrote first of all as a medical man. In recognizing a large number of mental diseases, and in prescribing the proper treatment for them, he was the founder of modern psychiatry. But beyond that, he was one of the foremost emancipators of the human spirit.

The *De Praestigiis Daemonum* may be regarded as a reply to the *Malleus Maleficarum*, which had been the guide and manual

of all witch-persecutors in the past seventy-five years. Weyer frequently quotes from that terrible book, but only to show up its barbarity. "One has only to read this volume, the silly and often godless absurdities of the theologians Jacob Sprenger and Heinrich Krämer and compare it with my work," he states at the outset, "to see clearly that I expound an entirely different, a totally opposite point of view." Every chapter of the *De Praestigiis* contains some novelty — the new interpretation of a Biblical text, the unmasking of a fraud, or the fresh analysis of a case history — for the demolishing of the old superstitions.

The work aroused, of course, great interest. New and constantly enlarged editions appeared in 1564, 1566, and 1568, and two more in 1577 and 1583. In 1565 a German translation by Johann Fuglin was published and later twice reprinted. Dissatisfied with this unauthorized version, Weyer issued his own in 1567. A French translation by Jacques Chouet appeared in 1569 and was reprinted in 1579. Finally an edition of Weyer's collected works was issued in 1660.

The *De Praestigiis* won over some people and exasperated many more. His followers greeted Weyer as a liberator of their consciences, but his enemies branded him "a witch-advocate" and "a master wizard." Cornelius Loos, a canon of Mainz, Simon Sulzer, Bishop of Basel, and the Jesuit Fathers Paul Laymann and Friedrich von Spee were among his most prominent pupils, as was the Englishman Reginald Scott, whose *The Discoverie of Witchcraft*, published in 1584, was largely based upon the *De Praestigiis*. Above all, several German princes listened to Weyer. For a time he had reason to be optimistic. "I cannot offer enough thanks to God," he wrote in his *De Lamiis* (*Of Witches*), "that He has let me present proofs which have in many places dissipated the rage of wading in the blood of innocents, and have stopped the wild cruelty of the devil in the torture of human beings. The reward of my book about the impostures of the devil is that certain high authorities not only treat those wretched old women whom the mob calls witches more mildly, but even absolve them from capital punishment. Congratulatory letters from the ablest scholars of every class and creed amply testify to the success of my waking nights, as they apparently are adopting my views with all their hearts."

But the fury of Weyer's enemies did not wait long. The theological faculties of Heidelberg, Trier, and Cologne could hardly find words strong enough to express their condemnation. Among his bitterest antagonists were Jean Bodin, the French political thinker, who devoted a long session of his *Démonomanie* to a refutation of Weyer's teachings, and Martin Del Rio, the Spanish Jesuit of Antwerp, whose *Disquisitiones Magicae*, a worthy sequel to the *Malleus*, regards the slightest doubt on the subject of witchcraft as heresy. Indeed, the good effects of the *De Praestigiis* were only temporary. The persecution of the witches went on with even greater ferocity than before, reaching its most savage excesses at the close of the century.

The Boston Public Library has copies of the 1568 and 1577 editions of the *De Praestigiis*. The first is an octavo of over seven hundred pages, and the second a large quarto which includes also Weyer's later works, namely, the *Liber Apologeticus*, the *Pseudo-Monarchia*, and the *De Lamiis*. This latter volume belonged to Theodore Parker, whose library, numbering nearly sixteen thousand volumes, is one of the most valued possessions of the institution. Parker's signature with the date "January 27, 1851" appears on the fly-leaf of the book.

THE *De Praestigiis* was dedicated to William III, Duke of Cleves. Weyer was lucky in his patron. Duke William was an enlightened man; and, as a son-in-law of the Emperor Ferdinand I, was also powerful enough to secure immunity for his physician from persecution. It was at his castle at Hambach, near Jülich, that the *De Praestigiis*, the result of some twelve years' labor, was composed.

"Of all the misfortunes which, through Satan's help, the countless fanatical and corrupt opinions have brought in our time to Christendom," Weyer wrote in his address to the Duke, "not the smallest is that which under the name of witchcraft has spread out like a venomous plant." The theological quarrels may have torn people asunder, but even they have not produced such a disaster as does the notion that childish old hags can do any harm to men and animals. "Daily experience shows what accursed apostasy, what friendship with the Evil One,

what hatred and dissension among neighbors, what brawls in city and country, how many murders of innocent people such a belief in the power of witches brings forth . . . For a time one hoped that, through the sound teaching of the word of God, its poison would be gradually eliminated; but in the terrible storms of these days it reaches farther and wider than ever. Almost all the theologians are silent regarding this godlessness; doctors tolerate it, and jurists treat it under the influence of the old prejudices: no one extends a hand to heal the deadly wound." But the Duke, Weyer knew, agreed with him "that witches cannot harm anyone, even through the most malicious will or the ugliest conjuration; that it is their imagination, inflamed by demons in a way not comprehensible to us, and the agonies of melancholy that make them fancy that they can cause all sorts of evil. For when the whole matter is laid on the scales and is weighed, its absurdity and falsity becomes clearer than the day."

In the third edition of his work Weyer inserted an appeal also to the Emperor and to "all worldly and ecclesiastical Princes": he hoped that his labors would help to destroy the centuries-old superstition. "This will come about," he wrote, "when in all your countries, provinces, and estates all cases of witchcraft are properly judged. Reason will triumph then over the impostures of Satan, the blood of innocent people will cease to flow so profusely, the pillars of public peace will stand firmer, and the needle of conscience will sting our hearts less often . . ."

In its final form, the *De Praestigiis* is divided into six books, each consisting of thirty to forty chapters. The first book deals with "the devil, his origin, purpose, and influence"; the second, with the magicians of the Hebrews, Greeks, Romans, and their latter-day disciples; the third, with the witches and their supposed power; the fourth, with the alleged victims of witchcraft; the fifth, with the treatment of the "bewitched" and the "obsessed"; and the sixth, with the punishment of witches, conjurers, and poisoners. Like earlier writers on witchcraft, Weyer jams his chapters with histories of actual cases; but instead of swallowing their supernatural import, he shows that most of them can be explained by natural causes, either by illness or clever fraud. In many instances he speaks from personal



experience; indeed, he treated several "bewitched" girls in his own family, restoring their health with simple diet and rest.

From his first chapters on Weyer insists that it is wrong to attribute natural phenomena to evil spirits, even if we cannot tell their cause. The might of the devil is limited; and since he cannot do anything without the permission of God, it is sacrilegious to believe that God has resigned his power to the arch-enemy. Further, because of their age, poor health, and stupidity, the so-called witches would hinder, if anything, the work of the devil, who is prompt and quick. As a spirit, the devil can do many things which, on account of our corporality, go beyond human nature; and if anyone objects that the witches perform their feats through their communion with these spirits, the answer is that the natural power of man cannot be greatly increased beyond his original endowments.

However, for much of the mischief Weyer blamed the doctors. "Ignorant and unskilled physicians," he suggested, "ascribe to witchcraft all illnesses that are incurable or in the cure of which they have made a mistake. They talk about it as a blind man does about color. Thus they cover their ignorance, as do crude surgeons their bungling, with the fantasies of magical malefactors, when they themselves are the real malefactors. With them belong also the swaggerers of the school of Paracelsus. Aping their master, they promise golden mountains, use all kinds of tricks, trample on the old art of healing, yet accomplish nothing . . ."

THE *Malleus Maleficarum* describes two ways for the surrender of witches to the devil: the first is at a solemn gathering of the witches in the presence of Satan; and the other at a private meeting with Satan. The new witch promises to deny the Christian faith, not to adore the Holy Sacrament, and to trample the crucifix under foot. She is to cook children, to eat them and make salves out of their limbs, and, rubbed with these salves, to go on flights through the air.

Weyer called the whole ceremony a gross absurdity. "That all this nonsense does not deserve credence is clear," he wrote. "The pact comes about through the fact that the devil poisons



the imagination of the individual, letting him see all sorts of visions and hear all sorts of voices. But the pact which one party enforces only by means of deceit is no pact. Further, the devil cannot associate with people in such a visible and tangible way as the witches say, because he is a spirit." And he goes on: "It is a devilish fantasy when the witches believe that they are able to kill new-born children with their ceremonies, or that they take the bodies out of the graves and cook unguents of them . . . But supposing that it were true — whence could such an unguent have the power to carry someone rubbed with it, or sitting on a chair rubbed with it, through the air, as the *Malleus Maleficarum* states? All such ideas are mere madness and illusion. The witches do not inflict the diseases upon us, as they themselves confess to do. This is all a fable. The mental confusion of the accused and the greed of the judges are at the root of the darkness." Chapter 5 of the third book, dealing with the phantoms which the imagination can produce in melancholy persons, is a little treatise in itself.

As is well-known, a large part of the *Malleus Maleficarum* is occupied with the sexual orgies of the witches; the *De Praestigiis* devotes about as much space to the refutation of these queer notions. What are commonly called *incubus* and *succubus*, Weyer maintains, are nothing but nightmares. "They are caused by vapors which rise from the phlegm and the spleen and cloud the brain. A person in that condition imagines that something heavy sprawls over his body. This usually happens when he lies on his back and his stomach is loaded with food. But why should not melancholy women when they sleep lying on their backs be occasionally seized with this illness and then fancy that an unclean spirit has violated them?" The stories which he relates in this connection prove that Weyer, though a sober and decent man, was not devoid of humor.

Great Biblical examples are supposed to prove beyond doubt the sufferings which witches can inflict. The author shows that the Bible speaks of the devil and not of witches. "The devil can sneak into human beings or animals and ruin their bodies," he writes. "In this way Job was harmed; Nebuchadnezzar ate grass; and the Savior healed those who were possessed." He ironically adds: "It is fortunate that they are

not walking around today; one would burden old women with the guilt of their misery. And they are so crazed that, under torture, they would confess long lists of their pretended shameful deeds."

One of the most frequent means by which the witches were supposed to torment their victims was by forcing them to swallow rags, nails, needles, all sorts of objects. The bewitched vomited them forth at the hearings, thus supplying "irrefutable" evidence of the witches' supernatural power. But Weyer denied that these strange articles came from the stomach. "The fact that they are often larger than the throat proves that the artful devil puts them into the human being's mouth, without our seeing it." Whether the author would have insisted on the agency of the devil, or would have been satisfied with a clever sleight-of-hand, is not difficult to guess. At any rate, he explains: "It is impossible that all that stuff should come up from below, even if the alimentary canal should be stretched as far as possible. At Nimwegen someone at Easter wanted to swallow a hen's egg, but got suffocated. If one examines the stomachs of such people by pressing and rubbing them, one will find nothing there." Personal observation in the case of a girl showed the author that the objects thus produced were moistened only by a bit of spittle, and had no traces of food such as one would expect after a meal. He also had a chance to see how Satan distorted the girl's eyes, locked her hands convulsively, and kept her mouth closed. Her father and the people gathered around maintained that they could be opened only by making the sign of the cross. "I opened both her hands and mouth only with trust in God," Weyer relates. "By this I surely do not want to say anything disrespectful against the cross, only against its misuse." This girl had accused a decent woman as the originator of her illness, and the latter, together with her mother, was thrown into prison.

Epidemics of the witchcraft delusion often visited convents. The author tells the stories of several. At Uvertet, in the county of Horn, a poor woman borrowed from the nuns three pounds of salt, which she afterwards repaid in double measure. But from that time on the nuns began to hear voices; were dragged from their beds by their feet; were raised into the air and then

dropped to the ground. Two of them talked of a black cat, which was in their dormitory shut up in a basket. Sure enough, when the basket was opened a cat sprang out. The woman, suspected of being a witch, was put in prison with seven others. "There can be no doubt that Satan did possess these nuns," Weyer writes, slyly observing: "Even if the cat was a natural one, we must not doubt that the devil had placed it in the basket." At the convent of Nazareth at Cologne the nuns were tormented in a similar manner. Among them was a fourteen-year-old girl named Gertrude, who had often seen mad apparitions in her bed. Soon the same thing happened to several others. Finally a solemn investigation was instituted. "The whole calamity," Weyer writes, "was started by certain debauched young men who, having made the acquaintance of some of the nuns, gained their way into the convent . . . But due to stricter precautions they had to desist, whereupon the crafty devil corrupted the imagination of the poor women, representing to them the images of those wanton persons."

The strongest bulwark against Satan, Weyer insists, is pure faith. And he goes on: "If pastors would build upon this ground, the devil's spook would become rarer and rarer in their parishes. But how many souls perish through their false teachings? They consider the magical absurdities as their inherited privilege, and refer wrongly to several popes who are said to have been magicians. The ecclesiastical exorcists deceive the people with their cures of the possessed. They are usually ignorant and illiterate . . . and abuse the name of God in a disgraceful way."

His family seems to have supported Weyer valiantly in his ceaseless fight against superstition. "A young girl, who was at times terribly tormented by a demon," he relates, "had a little piece of paper wrapped in leather hung round her neck. That would help her, she was told; and if she lost it, her sickness would return. Everybody worried about the safety of the paper. My wife Judith heard of the case, and asked the girl to come to our house. She exhorted her to trust only in God, the protector of all who are in trouble, and to despise the ruses of the devil. Then she built up her strength with food and drink, and took the amulet off from her neck. The people watching her were frightened and ran away, thinking that the raging and

ranting of the girl would start again at once. But the girl, left alone with my wife and my daughter Sophia, remained calm. My wife opened the leather and found no writing at all on the paper. She threw it into the fire in the presence of the girl who, comforted through the lesson, enjoyed a good appetite, appeared merry, and with a lively faith in God remained in good health from then on."

THE last book of the *De Praestigiis* deals with the punishment of the supposed witches. Weyer points out that the Constitution of Emperor Charles V prescribes the greatest possible care in cases of magic, decreeing that false accusers should be punished and the innocently accused be paid damages. "How differently such people are treated nowadays!" he exclaims. "Malicious accusations and the foolish suspicion of the crude mob suffice for the judges, who throw poor old women, whose minds have been disordered by the devil, into holes that are more dens of robbers than prisons; who deliver them over to hideous torture through the hangman, and have them interrogated by unutterable torments. Guilty or not guilty — it is all the same; they cannot get freed from the bloody agony until they have confessed. So they prefer to render their souls to God in flames rather than to endure the torture of these savage butchers any longer. If then they die, crushed by the cruelty of the rack while still in the hands of the hangman, or after they, turned to skeletons, have been taken out of the prisons, people cry in jubilation that they have taken their own lives or that the devil has broken their necks."

He addresses the judges directly:

"When one day He will appear to whom nothing remains hidden, the Searcher of hearts and souls, the true Judge of all things, then shall your works be manifest, oh you hard tyrants, you blood-thirsty, inhuman and merciless magistrates! I call you herewith before the Last Judgment! God will decide between you and me. The trampled and buried truth will rise up, leap into your face, and cry for vengeance for your murders. Then will appear how much you know of the truth of the Gospel with which you parade; then will appear what the true



word of God has meant to you; then will you be measured on your own scale."

As so often, the author gives a case from his own experience. A count who was well-known to him had two women tortured and burnt at the stake on suspicion of witchcraft. One of them was already dead in consequence of the torments she had suffered when they dragged her out of the dungeon. The other was forced to confess that with the help of a servant maid she had tried to make a nobleman insane. This maid, too, was imprisoned and put on the rack. Weyer asked the count for the records of the examination of the two women; and that was why the judge told him that he had never encountered such unbelievable resistance to torture as that of the maid. To brand her as a witch, she was also subjected to the water-ordeal, but she floated, which was considered as evidence of her guilt. Weyer persuaded the judge that the nobleman was not bewitched but possessed by a demon. Then he begged the count to set free the innocent girl and deliver her to his family for protection; but not till after several months did she get out of the hands of the hangman. Meanwhile the count himself — evidently a paranoiac — broke down, to spend the rest of his life in bed.

The witches, Weyer emphasizes, must not be confounded with the heretics. They are feeble-minded old women deceived by Satan, whereas the heretics are given to false creeds. Such women ought to be instructed in the right religion, instead of being thrown into dungeons. In any case, they should be punished less severely than men, considering that the mind and spirit of women are generally much weaker, and that by their very constitution they are more apt to be victims of delusion. In a misogynist age Weyer, like his teacher Cornelius Agrippa, pleaded for the considerate treatment of women — the favorite targets of the fervor and horror of ascetics.

Some maintain, the author continues, that the will to do harm itself should be punished, regardless of whether it is effective or not. One should distinguish however, he demands, between the intact will power of a sane man and the corrupted will of a troubled person. Madmen and little children may have such a will; indeed, it is easy to make them believe that they



have done things which they have never done. "How can anybody tell that these poor women have contracted an alliance with the devil? No one was present, no one can swear that he was a witness. We have only the confession of stupid, distraught creatures. Such a confession is either made under duress or voluntarily. If under duress, it has no weight; if voluntarily, the acts themselves, such as flying through the air, being transformed into animals, having carnal relations with the devil, and so on, are impossible and therefore false. A legitimate confession must be both true and possible."

On the last pages of his work Weyer reaffirms his strong convictions. Turning to the theologians, doctors, and jurists, he sums up:

"I do not doubt that many people will reward my labors only with anger and calumny. They will censure what they do not understand, and hold fast at any price to what is traditional and deep-rooted. There will be some who will not neglect the opportunity to let me feel the claws of their malice. Theologians will cry that it is unseemly for a medical man to go out of his profession and attempt the explanation of Biblical passages. To them I answer that Saint Luke was a physician of Antioch, and I count myself among those who endeavor by all means of inquiry to belong to that royal priesthood of which St. Peter and Isaiah speak.

"Some ecclesiastics I have accused of being sorcerers, without however calling them by name. If they believe that they have been wronged, I expect them to appear publicly for the defense of their cause. I will answer them.

"My medical colleagues will doubtless discover many a deficiency in my work; they would have liked certain matters more precisely explained and the whole linked together by a better method. I know how inadequate my powers are; if they will prove my mistake, they may be sure of my thanks. Never will I be ashamed to admit a fault.

"May the jurists take no offense that, in spite of the authority of the Twelve Tables, I do not believe in the enchantment of harvests and other like things. But if malicious men will accuse me of misdeeds, I will pray God to give me grace to endure their attacks with patience."

In his last challenge Weyer assured the magicians themselves that he was not afraid of their impostures and delusions, even if they intended to change him into a beast, throw him to the ravens, or smother him in a sewer: "I have contempt for the Delphic oracles by which vicious persons will prophesy misfortunes for me because I have desecrated the temple of Pythia. Against such visions of terror I need neither holy water nor candles; they cannot scare me with spooks. I am not in the least worried if a miserable conjurer pursues me with his crude and silly mutterings. His charms by which he claims to produce prodigious sicknesses I hold not worth a penny. It is only the mixers of poison that I fear, people who through drugs and beverages can harm us in actuality and not only in imagination. These I have not defended; I leave them to their just punishment."

With this he submitted his work to the Church, "ready to correct and renounce any error" of which he might be convicted.

THESE is no English translation of the *De Praestigiis*. Fortunately, however, we have a remarkable study of the work in Dr. Gregory Zilboorg's "Johann Weyer, the Founder of Modern Psychiatry," first delivered as a lecture and then published in his volume *The Medical Man and the Witch during the Renaissance* (The Johns Hopkins Press, 1935). Dr. Zilboorg, a distinguished psychiatrist, discusses Weyer's book from the medical point of view.

"From the very outset," he writes, "Weyer proceeded to look upon the demoniacal world about him as an enormous clinic teeming with sick people. He set himself the task of making careful clinical studies and of using his spare time to subject to critical analysis the entire literature of his field." He describes the work as "perhaps the most complete, at any rate the most intelligent and scientific collection of psycho-pathological case histories that the sixteenth century has bequeathed to us." Weyer's analyses of demoniacal possessions and witchcraft, he believes, have covered the majority if not all of the psycho-pathological conditions met with in his time. He was "the real inaugurator of scientific method in relation to medical psychology."

Weyer was a systematic scientist, whose rationalistic mind rejected mere speculation and demanded experiment. "First," Dr. Zilboorg writes, "he obtains a detailed story or written record; second, he talks to the patient personally whenever and wherever possible; third, he follows up the case; fourth, he looks upon the whole procedure as a medical method which is true to the laws of physiology and psychology; and fifth, he looks upon the affliction as an illness *even when* he sees that in some cases the patient's will apparently participates in the production of symptoms (malinger or similar behavior)." The author lists a number of diseases which Weyer carefully studied. The Brabant doctor described what appears to have been trichinosis; gave an account of the English sweating sickness; characterized "pestilential cough," probably influenza, and erysipelas, and left an essay on scurvy. He investigated the phenomenon of pseudo-pregnancy, and observed various atresias in women and the new-born. He wrote a whole volume about the disease of wrath, which he regarded as one of the mass-psychoses of the age.

Long sections of the *De Praestigiis* are devoted to drugs and poisons, to which Weyer ascribes the somnolent and stupor-like states of the witches. Thus he observes the effects of atropin or belladonna, and of Thebiac opium and henbane, and describes "the atropin jag — the state of excitement, the state of tremulous anxiety, the optic hallucinations, which are reminiscent of our present-day *delirium tremens*." Weyer attributes the sexual phantasies of witches to the fact that they frequently abused the salves. It was under the influence of such drugs that they thought they saw "theaters, beautiful gardens, feasts, ornaments, clothes, handsome young men, kings, magistrates . . . and devils, ravens, prisons, deserts, and other torments." Weyer's discussions of veterinary medicine were also of great importance, considering that one of the most frequent accusations against the witches was that they harmed cattle and beasts. Instead of condemning these witches to death, he advised the fumigation of stables with sulphur.

With calmness and objectivity he dealt with the graver sorts of mental maladies, prominent among which was the belief in transformation into animals, and particularly lycanthropy.

People who speak of their wanderings as werewolves, he insisted, have a disordered mind; and he further suggested that on encountering dangerous wolves which roam about and which are thought to be witches, one should consider them real and shoot them accordingly. In analyzing nightmares, he discovered that there was "no essential difference between the delusionary and hallucinatory trends of our schizophrenias or the delirious experiences of some of the toxemias and the dreams of normal individuals," a truth whose significance has become clear only recently to psychiatrists. Moreover, Weyer not only attempted to describe the process of the formation of delusions and hallucinations, but also conceived it as "a series of gradations in the relationship between sensation conceived from external stimuli and their intra-psychic representation." With equal courage he dealt with the most advanced forms of the various monomanias and paranoid suspicions. All along he emphasized the need of individualization in therapy. In treating epidemics of hysteria, he advocated the separation of the patients from each other, knowing that the affliction was contagious. Above all, he recognized the fact that the patient's insight into his own trouble could enormously help recovery.

Weyer fully deserves the eulogy of Albrecht von Haller, the great eighteenth-century physiologist: "He was a man whose spirit tore itself out of the confines of his age, and who actively and forcefully exposed the true nature of witches and the possessed."

## Note

The literature on Weyer is still meager. All histories of medicine recognize his merit, but usually accord only a few paragraphs to him. Kurt Sprengel's great *Histoire de la Médecine* (Paris, 1815-20), however, includes a brief but substantial discussion of the *De Praestigiis*. (III, 232-36.) Wilhelm G. Soldan in his *Geschichte der Hexenprocesse* (Stuttgart, 1843) devotes a good chapter to the work. (Pp. 335-45.) In July 1865 Dr. Alexandre Axenfeld read a paper before the medical faculty of the Sorbonne on "Jean Wier et la Sorcellerie," which was published in book form in the following year. The first and so far only full-length biography, *Doctor Johann Weyer*, is by Carl Binz and was first published in Berlin in 1885 and a second time in 1896.

The old French translation of the *De Praestigiis* (1569) was reprinted in 1885, in two volumes, under the title *Histoires, Disputes et Discours des Illusions et Impostures des Diables* . . . As mentioned in the present article, the work has never been translated into English. The *Encyclopædia Britannica* does not even have a notice about Weyer; it mentions him only indirectly, in connection with the Faust legend. One is doubly indebted, therefore, to Dr. Gregory Zilboorg for his illuminating study. The same writer also has an excellent chapter on Weyer in his *History of Medical Psychology* (New York, 1941), 206-44.

*Materials toward a History of Witchcraft collected by Henry Charles Lea* contains an extensive abstract of the *De Praestigiis*, giving brief summaries, or at least indications, of almost every chapter (University of Pennsylvania Press, 1939, II, 490-532). This abstract is very useful, although Dr. Lea does not seem to have done full justice to Weyer's freedom of mind. He thought that Weyer was logical only as regards the witches, but was himself credulous concerning the magicians whom he believed to be "taught and aided by the devil." Yet even Dr. Lea admitted that Weyer's devil was "evidently a very different being from that of popular belief, and he has gone a long way towards dethroning him"; and that "if he had gone further, he probably would not have been listened to at all."



# Prophecies of the Popes

By MARGARET MUNSTERBERG

THE Boston Public Library has added to its manuscript collections two curious little volumes — copies of the *Prophetiae de Pontificibus* by the twelfth-century Abbot Joachim of Calabria. The work, which was extremely popular in the Middle Ages, is a series of prophecies relating to the reigns of the popes. Both copies contain additional material attributed to Anselm, Bishop of Marsico. The first manuscript was apparently done in the late fifteenth century, as the last pope mentioned died in 1484. The other manuscript probably dates from the early seventeenth century.

The earlier manuscript consists of twenty vellum leaves, all except one having the portrait of a pope, or a picture symbolizing the reign of a pope, on one side and the interpretative text on the other. The exception is the impressive portrait of the Abbot Joachim himself, bearded and in a monastic habit, sitting at a desk and writing his prophecies. The pictures may be the work of a Florentine artist. The drawing betrays considerable skill, for the postures and gestures, and especially the facial expressions, are individual and alive. The tinting, mostly in crimson, blue, brown, and scarlet, is less carefully carried out. The text of the prophecies is in Latin, but the biographical notes about the popes are in most cases in Italian.

The later manuscript has twenty-eight paper leaves bearing the papal portraits and symbols on the recto side with the text in Italian beneath, while the Latin is opposite, on the verso of the preceding picture. These pictures, which follow for the most part the same designs as those of the earlier manuscript, are drawings in ink outline, with shadings of a light brownish wash. The faces are commonplace in comparison with those of the earlier work. The names of the popes, written in large letters to the left of the pictures, do not correspond to the names accompanying the same designs in the fifteenth-century manuscript, but seem to be inscribed with complete arbitrariness. The first picture represents the Abbot Joachim, holding in

each hand a volume with the words "Vitae Patrum," which he presents on one side to a group of monks and on the other to a group of nuns. The title states that the volume also contains the prophecies of Father John Maria de Vervallo-Vercellese.

The first printed edition of Joachim's Prophecies appeared in Venice, published by Hieronymus Porrus in 1589. In 1600 Giovanni Battista Bertoni produced, in the same city, another edition, of which the Library's Sabatier collection of Franciscana has a copy. Entitled *Vaticinia seu Praedictiones Illustrum Virorum*, the volume consists mainly of the prophecies made supposedly by the Abbot Joachim and by his contemporary, Bishop Anselm of Marsico. The book has finely executed engravings, similar in design and symbolism to the drawings of the two manuscripts; the text, which has variant readings in the margins, also corresponds to the manuscript texts, although the juxtaposition of text and portrait differs in the three books. The printed volume contains diagrams of the prophetic wheel (*rota*) which apparently was in vogue at the time. This is a disk, with the spokes of a wheel in the center, divided into a certain number of sections, each with the name and the accession date of a pope. The book has one wheel for the prophecies of Joachim, one for those of Anselm, and others which extend through the sixteenth century.

This volume is invaluable for the understanding of the manuscripts. In the first place, it makes it evident that the twenty prophecies in the early manuscript include not only those attributed to the Abbot Joachim but also those of Bishop Anselm.

**D**ANTE, in the twelfth canto of the *Paradiso*, sees in the circle of the sun:

Raban è quivi, e lucemi da lato  
Il Calavrese abate Giovacchino,  
Di spirito profetico dotato.

"Raban [Maur] is there and, shining upon me at his side, the Calabrian abbot Joachim, endowed with prophetic spirit." One must take the great poet's word for it that Joachim had prophetic vision, even though, according to his biographers,

the Abbot said of himself that he was not given the spirit of prophecy, but the spirit of intelligence. Perhaps one may say that there are two Joachims, one, the historic monk about whom certain facts are known, and the other, a semi-legendary figure, whose ideas were interpreted by later generations in accordance with particular spiritual trends.

Giovanni Gioachimo (Joachim) was born in Celico near Cosanza, in Calabria, about 1132. At an early age he made a pilgrimage to the Holy Land. Gabrielle Barrio, a Franciscan biographer of the sixteenth century, tells of miracles, such as the emergence of a river in a desert, when Joachim was dying of thirst; and of a sudden illumination which took place on the Mount of the Transfiguration, where he had passed the Lenten weeks in fasting and prayer. After his return from Jerusalem, Joachim entered the Cistercian monastery of Sambacina di Luzzi in his native province, then the Abbey of Corazzo, and, after being ordained priest, was made Abbot in 1177. He had connections with several popes, and visited Urban III at Verona. Clement III ordered him to complete his written works, and Celestin III sanctioned his new monastic foundation. For the Abbot Joachim was not content to remain a conventional administrator; his restless spirit drove him to the greater austerity of the hermitage Petralata. Finally, he went with some companions into the Sila mountains and founded there the monastery of St. Giovanni in Fiore, with a more ascetic rule of his own. A number of his followers, as the Franciscan biographer relates, "flourished in sanctity," and out of this center grew the wide-spread Florensic Order. Joachim was revered during his lifetime as a saintly man and a prophet. He died in 1202.

Among the numerous works to which Joachim's name has been attached, the Jesuit scholar Franz Ehrle listed (in the *Kirchenlexikon*) nine as genuine, of which only three are unquestionably accepted — the Concordance of the Old and New Testaments, the Commentary on the Apocalypse and the Instrument of Ten Strings. The doubtful and spurious works number fifteen, among them the Prophecies of the Popes.

Joachim expressly submitted to the judgment of the Church. After his death, however, his reputation underwent transform-

ation in two directions. The Lateran Council of 1215 condemned his doctrine of the Trinity as set forth in a treatise against Peter Lombard; but five years later Pope Honorius III forbade any construction of this decision which would reflect on the orthodoxy of Joachim, and declared his Order to be "regular and salutary." The significance of the Joachimite movement and the controversies it roused lies elsewhere, namely in the interpretation of his visionary doctrine of the Eternal Gospel. (Those who wish to study the subject may turn, among other works, to Renan's lucid chapter on the Eternal Gospel in his *Nouvelles Etudes d'Histoire Religieuse* (Paris, 1884); Paul Fournier's *Etudes sur Joachim de Flore* (Paris, 1909); Felice Tocco's *L'Eresia nel Medio Evo* (Florence, 1884); Guido Manacorda's *Poesia e Contemplazione* (Florence, 1947); Reuter's *Geschichte der religiösen Aufklärung im Mittelalter* (Berlin, 1875), and the learned articles by Heinrich Denifle and Herman Haupt respectively in the *Archiv für Literatur und Kirchengeschichte*, volume 1, and the *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, volume 7.)

The Eternal Gospel envisaged by Joachim derives its name from Revelation, Chapter 14, 6: "And I saw another angel fly in the midst of heaven, having the everlasting gospel to preach unto them that dwell on the earth . . ." The life of the world was, according to Joachim, divided into three periods: the first was dominated by the Old Testament, the second, which would last until 1260, by the Gospel of Christ, and the third would be the time of the Holy Spirit and the Eternal Gospel. The first period belonged to laymen, the second to the clergy, and the third would belong to the monks. This prophetic doctrine was readily adopted by the Spirituals, the ascetic branch of the Franciscan Order. In 1254 Gerard di Borgo S. Donnino published an *Introductorius in Evangelium Aeternum*, a crystallization of the Joachimite teachings, which was condemned, at the end of the fifteenth century, by Pope Alexander VI. However, the Church never censured Joachim's own works on the Eternal Gospel; it was only a provincial council at Arles which in 1263 forbade the circulation of his works — a decree which did not in the least hinder their being copied and read.

It was in the middle of the thirteenth century that Joachim



had the greatest influence. Indeed, John of Parma, the General of the Franciscan Order, was accused of preferring the Joachimite doctrine to the Catholic faith. The Franciscan chronicler Salimbene credited Joachim with a prevision of the two great mendicant Orders founded within the decade after his death; but the texts which may be interpreted as prophetic of these events are now known to be apocryphal. The reputation of Joachim as a prophet was not affected by the circumspect judgment of Thomas Aquinas that Joachim "foretold some things true, but in others he was deceived." The great scholastic could not be expected to be rapturous about a mystic. The prophecies attributed to Joachim became increasingly popular in the Middle Ages.

**I**N examining the contents of the Library's manuscripts, chief attention will be given to the earlier one. The prophecy accompanying each picture in this manuscript was probably copied from manuscripts of a much earlier date; how large a part oral transmission may have played in formulating the text is, of course, impossible to determine.

The first portrait in the early manuscript is that of Nicholas V (1446-54), who, crowned with a tiara and holding his crimson mantle, watches a dog gripping three green-white-red flags in its mouth. The writing on the verso begins: "And there will be raised a virtuous man who has the first name of the monk inhabiting the rocky land." The same text in the printed book goes with the picture of Calistus III, with which it properly belongs. The motto reads: "With good words he will dispense treasure among the poor" — a reference to Pope Calistus's charitable activities.

The second picture is intended to represent Clement V (1305-14). The Pope, holding a book in one hand, points a finger of the other at the serpent coiled round an apple-tree. A dove perches on his shoulder. This picture — in the printed book attached to Benedict XI — has nothing to do with the text, which belongs with a later picture depicting a pope on horseback, leaving a woman, "The Babylonian spouse," standing disconsolate in a doorway. It may be noted that the old manuscript





*Boniface VIII from the "Prophecies of the Popes"*



gives "babillonicam sponsam," whereas the later manuscript and the printed book have "mulieris Babilonicae sponsum" ("the husband of the woman of Babylon") which is rather more intelligible. In the printed volume this text goes with the picture of Clement V, friend of the French king Philip the Fair; with him began the residence of the popes at Avignon, referred to as the Babylonian captivity.

The next picture is interesting because of its symbolism. The Pope, intended to be Honorius IV (1286-87), is stabbing a small black eagle with his staff. (In the printed book this picture belongs with Martin IV, who "will worry the eagle.") The text in the manuscript, which again has no connection with the picture is not flattering: "Take, you usurper, the highest honors; you useless and sterile tree, who think you are doing great things, while you are weak in mind and body . . ." In the later manuscript both text and picture for Honorius IV correspond to those in the printed volume; the picture shows a young man swinging a club at the helpless pope, who holds a large key. In the older manuscript the same design, carried out with more effectiveness, appears with the text for Nicholas IV.

The following leaf has, in place of a figure, the picture of a city surrounded by a wall. A fortress, with round tower and pinnacles, rises above the red-roofed buildings. The printed book has, with the corresponding picture, a text which begins, "Woe to you, city of seven hills." The city is supposed to be Constantinople, taken by the Turks in 1453, during the pontificate of Nicholas V. The later manuscript also has the picture of a city, showing the front view of a high gate with battlements, which has been identified as Basel defending itself against the French troops in the time of Eugene IV. The printed volume has engravings of both Constantinople and Basel.

Now comes the picture of a nude man sitting on a treasure box, dispensing gold pieces, which belongs to Calistus III. However, the text, beginning "Dead now and forgotten" seems to point, as it does in the printed book, to Pius II. The motto "Bona intentio, charitas abundabit" might apply to either pope. The later manuscript has the same juxtaposition of text and picture as the printed volume.

There follows a striking design which is represented in both the manuscripts and the printed book. A sword extends from the Pope's chin and pierces a haloed lamb at his feet; beside the lamb is a small figure with wings outspread and with a tiara on its head. The old manuscript assigns it to Benedict XII, but it evidently fits the text about John XXII which begins: "From the last generation there will ascend a bloody beast who will cruelly devour his own innocent son," and which goes on to say that a pseudo-prophet will arise and seduce many, "because you with your evils have inflicted most cruel wounds on the most gentle lamb . . ." It was during the pontificate of John XXII that the sect of the Fraticelli, an outgrowth of Franciscan zealots, refused to submit to the papal authority. It is not unnatural, therefore, that the author or authors of the Joachimite prophecies should have scorned this pontiff.

The most startling of the pictures is a green dragon with a horned human head. A sword, a crab, and a salamander are below, and a moon rises above. The text, which names Boniface IX, is unquestionably misplaced; the proper text, which goes with the same picture in both the later manuscript and the printed book, refers to Urban VI, with the motto "Thou art terrible, who shall resist thee?" The legend explains: "This is the last wild beast which will pull down the stars. Then the birds will take flight, and only reptiles will remain." Following the prophecy, some historical information is given about Urban VI, "in whose time there was a schism in the Church, as another Pope, who was called Clemens, was elected at Fondi."

A picture of a Pope holding keys in one hand and a three-pronged staff in the other, while an eagle clings to his mantle and a cock to the staff, belongs in the early manuscript with Benedict XI. It is the same design which in the printed book represents Boniface VIII, with the text: "He wounds the cock, deplumes the eagle, and does not fear the dove . . ."

It is unnecessary to make a comparison of all the pictures and legends. The popes to whom the early manuscript assigns its remaining pictures are Alexander V, John XVIII, Gregory XI, Urban V, Pius II, and finally Sixtus IV.

The impression that one gains on examining the two manuscripts and the printed book is that certain basic patterns of

symbolic design were transmitted through generations, varied according to the imagination of the artists. These were linked with the prophecies, but the pictures and their texts sometimes appeared in odd combinations. What they all have in common is a bold, rebellious attitude — and the association with the name of the Abbot Joachim, which stood originally for the cult of pure spirit but was forced in the course of centuries to lend its sanction to partisan strife and bitter invective.



# Contemporary French Prints

By ARTHUR W. HEINTZELMAN

IN January of last year the Print Department of the Boston Public Library was asked by the Cultural Division of the United States Embassy in Paris and the Comité National de la Gravure Française to organize exchange exhibitions in the graphic arts by living artists. An Honorary Committee of Curators of Prints and Directors of a number of our leading museums chose and sponsored a representative exhibition by American artists, which was inaugurated by special invitation in the Galerie Mansart of the Bibliothèque Nationale on December 10, 1951. These prints are now traveling through the important art centers in the Provinces of France, and at present are in Rouen.

The French exhibition had its *vernissage* in the Albert H. Wiggin Galleries of the Boston Public Library early in October. In introducing this comprehensive group of prints, it is hoped that this remarkable collection of contemporary work will be the precursor of future exchanges between our two countries.

A number of the older artists included in this exhibition were among those who created a renaissance in the graphic arts just before the turn of the century. This rebirth came with an impetuous forward movement which included all print mediums, and it seems only natural that France should have fostered the revival. As in the past, Paris, the center of creative temperament, led the way with her inventiveness, imagination, and interpretive independence in developing a new approach to the copper, wood, and stone mediums.

Rarely does one have the opportunity to view so complete a representation of prints by contemporary French masters. It is composed of one hundred and seventy-three prints, which give a comprehensive idea of the important place occupied in the art world by the fifty-six artists and of the tremendous influence they exercise in the realm of prints. To indicate in a

measure the importance of contemporary print-making in France, its possibilities, aims, and influence on other nations, a short survey of the work created in this new movement — and well represented here — should be of great interest to American artists, collectors, and laymen.

It should be noted that in no instance is there any peculiarity of method. On the contrary, the results are based upon a thorough foundation of experience and technical training. The work is the result of natural development, profound perception, and experiment. It is manual only in that it possesses enough stress on technique to capture the fluidity and originality of the artist's mind as a contributing force and not as a means to an end. These prints, representing all schools of thought, contain in their contemporary ideas and manner of handling evidence of the natural outgrowth of an earlier and profound apprenticeship.

The present high standard in French print-making is, to a great degree, the result of the fertile imagination of Ambroise Vollard, who envisioned the impressionists as graphic artists using the same principles and means as they did on canvas, even though they were painters and not engravers by profession. He stimulated their interest by commissioning them to carry out a series of subjects in the medium of their own choosing. He believed in their innate judgment and in their ability to produce prints which would be sensitive accompaniments to their painting. That Vollard was rewarded in this far-reaching vision is revealed by the fact that the modern school of French engraving is known to be one of the most brilliant and diversified of any period in France. Not only the graphic arts but modern book-craft owes much to these artists. During the past half-century, some of France's greatest artists, including several whose works form an important contribution to this exhibition, found an outlet to their creative expression through book illustration. Among these are such illustrious artists as Picasso, Matisse, Braque, Segonzac, Derain, Rouault, Dufy, and Chagall.

"Grand Profil de Femme," "Les Saltimbanques," "Le Bain," "Homme et Femme," and "Femme dans un Fauteuil" are characteristic of the genius of Picasso, and represent several of his interesting periods. The amazing directness with which they are

executed makes us feel that they concern only himself, and are done with as much individuality and freedom as his paintings.

The prints by Matisse are familiar in America, and it is a well-known fact that they have influenced many young artists here and abroad. In his three plates of "Visage de Femme" and "Buste de Femme, de Profil à Gauche," done in pure line, we find that his needle possessed the same sensitive and distinct qualities as his brush. In "L'Après-midi," a lineoleum cut, there is an immediate reaction to his cutting tool, which is dominated by his original and fertile mind.

It is interesting to note that Dufy's etchings and lithographs, "Baigneuses," "L'Odalisque à Nice," "L'Antillaise," "Petite Baigneuse," and "Mozart," lose none of the adventurous spirit that he achieves in other mediums, although they are entirely different. They are executed in a scintillating manner in an even light, with the same decision and clarity which is characteristic of all his work.

Utrillo is a singer of Montmartre in both his paintings and lithographs. His five prints, "Montmartre, rue St. Vincent," "Montmartre, rue de Mont-Cenis," "Le Maquis à Montmartre," "Rue des Saules," and "Moulin de la Galette," are strong renditions of favorite subjects which, although limited in area, bespeak an art that is free and big in feeling. Utrillo possessed a natural gift for setting down tone values of light and shade, and of open-air perspective. His work indicates that his subject exists in his subconscious mind, for one is at a loss for an explanation of that which seems to be his limitation and is at the same time his strength and simple means of expression.

Dunoyer de Segonzac's early drawings in pen and ink had always held promise as preliminaries to his work on copper. That he is a natural-born etcher is evidenced in his five prints of Versailles, Chaville, and St. Tropez, where his needle grazes over the plate in a feverish pattern of lines which range in value from a rich accumulation of vibrant blacks to the most delicate suggestions. These subjects demonstrate an intuitive sense of being in tune with nature in that they suggest atmosphere, movement, time of day, and season.

In whatever Georges Rouault attempts, whether it be lithography or etching, he reaches a high pitch of force in chiaro-





*Utrillo: "Moulin de la Galette"*  
*A Lithograph, Reduced*





scuro and dramatic values, as his contributions to this exhibition, all plates from the "Miserere" series, will testify. They hold one by their unfinished qualities, as if each accomplishment was but a fresh experiment.

Other men of this "old guard" still living, and who were associated with Vollard, have important names which have made French print history. Braque's interest in etching, although limited, displays singular beauty in two cubistic compositions, "Bass" and "Nature Morte." The lithographs, "Nature Morte" and "Hera," are patterns of color in characteristic design which, like the etchings, are pure in simple compositional facts typical of the artist's creative imagination. Chagall's lone print "Nu à l'Eventail" well supports his fame as an etcher. It demonstrates the sensitivity and feelings which are behind his power, finesse, and consciousness of delicate rhythm and natural ease in transposing his thoughts to copper. Derain's nudes and "Visage Brun" and "Visage Blond" demonstrate his power in draughtsmanship by suggestion and hold our interest as master drawings on stone.

The imprint of individualism which was made by artists of this group on the younger generation of print-makers constitutes an important factor in the development of the graphic arts in France. The interchange and dovetailing of old and new groups in the past half-century is remarkably demonstrated. This is perhaps due in great part to the formation of the Society of "Young Contemporary Engravers" by Pierre Guastalla in 1929, through which new artists of talent were given an opportunity to show their work beside that of the established masters. Among the younger artists of this group are Robert Cami, Camille Berg, Michel Ciry, Gerard Cochet, André Jacquemin, Robert Lotiron, and André Minaux, whose personalities in the graphic arts were not fully revealed in this country until quite recently. There are other men also, new to many on this side of the Atlantic, whose work does not suffer by comparison and carries the same high standard of achievement. Between the younger men and those of the older school there is an intermediate group, which brings these two generations together to form a sequence of unbroken development. Prominent among them are Edouard Goerg, Jean-Eugène Ber-

sier, Roger Vieillard, Roland Oudot, and others of equal importance.

There are so many bonds between nationality, subject, and artist that it is often difficult to decide what one owes to the other, and it is hard to ascertain how posterity will decide the issue. With established individuality brought about by a background of inherent creative force, it is impossible to conceive of these artists other than as being wholly attuned to the cultural atmosphere of France. Their presentation and manner of approach is personal, and goes hand-in-hand with the best traditions of the past as well as the developments of our age. Their work as a whole is composed of an emotional approach and intellectual impulse, combining directness and feeling totally void of commonplaceness and monotony.

Here is an exhibition in which every artist contributes to the success of the show, and which in its completeness gives a well-rounded knowledge of what is being done in France by living French artists. One is conscious of the fact that the artists have striven for something deeper than individual expression, and have created a sense of unity among themselves far beyond the mere desire for personal recognition. One can understand and appreciate these prints without prejudice or limitation, for the results are free from circumscribed formulas. Any attempt at a summary of this French exhibition becomes involved from the beginning, for every print is important and deserves the honor of special mention.

For the interesting and untiring efforts which the exhibition implies, sincere thanks are due the Comité National de la Gravure Française. This exhibition is an example of one of the most useful and expressive instruments of exchange in cultural understanding.

## Notes on Rare Books and Manuscripts

### Richardson Discusses his *Clarissa* and *Grandison*

ONE of the most interesting items in a distinguished group of manuscripts recently given to the Boston Public Library, and described in the January 1952 issue of this magazine, is a long letter by Samuel Richardson discussing his *Clarissa* and the recently published *Sir Charles Grandison*. Addressed to Lady Elizabeth Echlin, the wife of an Irish peer, and dated May 17, 1754, it has apparently never been published. (However, it is difficult to ascertain such a fact; any information to the contrary will therefore be welcome.)

As a boy of thirteen, he once wrote of himself, Richardson was bashful and "not fond of play"; already he preferred the company of "young women of taste" to that of other boys, and spent his time reading aloud to their sewing circle and writing love letters for them. As an adult, he preferred to bask in the admiration of female friends rather than to associate with his famous literary contemporaries, such as Johnson, Fielding, and Sterne. It was for the admiring ladies, and often with their advice, that he wrote *Pamela*, *Clarissa*, and *Sir Charles Grandison* — long novels of love in epistolary form.

Lady Echlin was the sister of Richardson's favorite correspondent, Lady Dorothy Bradshaigh ("Lady B." in the letter), who dominated his life and work after 1749. Though not as vivacious and strong-willed as Lady Bradshaigh, Lady Echlin was equally fond of Richardson's books; she was known, for her piety and charity, as "the phenix of Dublin ladies." It was perhaps jealousy rather than prudence that prompted Lady Bradshaigh to caution her — as mentioned in the letter — against corresponding with the novelist. At any rate, the warning did not take effect, for the relationship continued until his death.

Richardson's friends discussed his novels heatedly as the volumes appeared, arguing over the plots and often seeming to assume that the characters were real. They followed with passionate interest the tragic career of *Clarissa*, abducted and seduced by the rake Lovelace; and many wished that he could have been saved. Lady Echlin, indeed, was so disappointed that she sent Richardson

a new ending, in which Lovelace, reformed by a Dr. Christian, dies of remorse for his crimes.

*Clarissa* (the Library has a set of the first edition, published in 1747-48) was Richardson's greatest success. The reception of his final novel, *Sir Charles Grandison* — the last volume of which appeared in March 1754, two months before the letter now in the Library was written — was not entirely favorable. The critics praised it, but they thought it over-refined and far too long. Richardson himself, as the letter shows, was willing to admit that he had almost tired the world's patience by being "so voluminous a scribbler"; but he was hurt by being told so bluntly by the outside world. And some of his readers did not think the book too long; he was, he wrote, "pestered with letters and applications for another volume of *Grandison*."

One reason for the lukewarm reviews of *Grandison* may have been that it was planned in part as a reply to Fielding's *Tom Jones*, which Richardson criticized in the "Concluding Note." *Grandison* was intended to provide a contrast to the "profligate" character and life of Fielding's hero, by portraying the perfectly virtuous gentleman; the original title of the novel was "The Good Man." Richardson's hatred of his great contemporary, though certainly unbecoming, was not altogether unfounded, considering the latter's two parodies of *Pamela* — *Shamela* and *Joseph Andrews*. Even now that Fielding was very ill (he died within six months), Richardson still found it hard to pity him, as the letter shows.

"Mr. Hildersley," of whose silence Richardson complains, was Mark Hildesley, Bishop of Sodor and Mann, who had written an appreciative letter to him in December 1753. Hildesley, who described himself as "a little obscure man, a country vicar," apparently heard from Lady Echlin — or from Lady Lambard, his influential patroness — that Richardson was offended, for on July 11 he wrote again, regretting that his modesty "has made me suffer in your opinion of my decency and good manners." Richardson replied at once, and they began a correspondence and friendship which lasted until the novelist's death in 1761.

The letter is printed here in full, with the original spelling and punctuation.

ALISON BISHOP

Most cordially do I thank my good Lady Echlin, for her kind Acceptance of my *Grandison*. Half-naughty Lady B. pray let me

beg of you to be more sparing of your Cautions where they are not needed — Cautions against condescending to favour a Man, who has a due sense of the Favour; and cannot be ungrateful for it. Have I, dear Lady B. so much abused those *you* have conferred upon me (multiplied as they have been, almost monthly) that you should caution a Sister against me? In that Light I must take y<sup>e</sup> Caution given to her.

“Your Ladiship has often lamented that I did not reform Lovelace.” Not after his last Outrage on the Honour of Clarissa, I dare say. All that could have been obtained, as to Instruction by y<sup>e</sup> Reformation of a Rake, is obtained by that of the once Libertine Belford, who had not sinned up to the other’s size of Enormity. Your dear Sister too, would have been glad, once, that Lovelace (reformed) had been the Husband of Clarissa. What an Example! so to reward a Rake *so* atrocious! How had the moral of my Work, in that Case, been destroyed!

“Your Ladyship is informed, that I have not finished my Story of Grandison.” Your informants, Madam, have wanted Attention, if they have read the Volumes. Yet this has been said and written to me, by many Persons, some anonymously. By so many, that I thought proper to print the Answer I made to one Lady, in order to send it, or give it, to as many as should make the Objection, or hear it made.

I have had near as many letters sent me, on the Subject of Sir Charles’s offered Compromise with the Porretta Family, of suffering his Daughters, had his Marriage with their Clementina taken Effect, to be brought up Roman Catholics; a Circumstance which your Ladiship also, with a laudable Zeal for the purest Religion on Earth, blames. To the Letter to the Lady on the former Occasion, I have added one I wrote to a Gentleman on this Subject. They are both Enclosed. I should be glad they may give Satisfaction to your Ladiship. I think to send a Number of them to Mr. Main, to give to those who have bought the Book of him. This Effect they will have, if no other, To shew the World, that I was willing to lay aside the Pen, before I had quite tired its Patience; having been so voluminous a Scribbler. 19 Volumes in Twelves, close Printed — In Three Stories — Monstrous! Who that sees them ranged on one Shelf, will forgive me?

“Will I give you Leave to think, that Harriet is superior to Clementina?” Indeed I will. I have owned the Superiority to dear Lady B. And have reflected upon the Judgment of those who are struck with the Glare of a great Action, which was owing princi-



pally to a raised Imagination. Your belovd Sister is of Opinion with you, Madam, in preferring Harriet: And I will not choose for my Judges of the Work, any of those, who are of a contrary one.

I revere Mr. Hildersley: But have a good mind to complain of him to your dear and good Lady Lambard, that to the Answer I wrote to a very kind Letter he favoured me with, in which I requested the Favour of his Friendship and Correspondence, he has not, and it is a great while ago, returned me one Line in Reply. A Slight from a good Man, who had warmly professed himself (and Spontaneously too), one's Friend, must be a little (*not* a little) mortifying.

Your Ladiship is very humble when you descend to blame your Self, on Comparison with your over-gay Neighbours of your own Sex. It is a bad Age we live in, when we must pronounce, that to be singular is to be virtuous.

If any thing were to happen to F. that could tame the wildest Vanity that I have ever known in a mean Man, I should pity him for the rest.

I admire your Ladiship for what you say of Clementina, and the Count of Belvedere. I have half a dozen of my female Correspondents, who (sweet Romancers, as they are, yet know it not) cannot bear the Thoughts of that noble Lady's resolving to reward the Count for his persevering Love. Till now, I thought Constancy and Fervour in a Lover sufficient to make any Man, not unworthy from want of Rank, Fortune, Morals, a Merit in the Heart of the noblest Woman. But some Ladies had rather *forgive* (and this perhaps to the Praise of their Generosity!) real Faults in a Lover, than *reward* passive Virtues. It is not often given to Woman, when addressed by more than one Man, to choose for Happiness. Something glaring, active, bustling, will engage her, as it has done those sitting in Judgment on the Characters of Clementina and Harriet, prefer that of Clementina: Who, however, I think of as an admirable Woman; and as a Sister not unworthy of the generous love of Harriet.

I should not so long have delayed acknowledging the Favour of your Ladiship's Letter before me; but was desirous of our Elections being so far got over, as to be able to have mine (the rather because of the inclosed) pass free to your Hands. We are as partial to ourselves at the Post-Office, as elsewhere, in our Nation's Dealings with Yours. A letter from a common Clerk will have Honour done it, going to Ireland. But Letters from thence very

often are charged, tho' freed by the greatest Hands. But never, I beseech your Ladiship, delay your Favours to me one Hour on this Consideration. The Difficulty on our Side is nothing.

Lady B. has mentioned, with Love and Pleasure to me, more than once, her dear Mrs. Ashurst. She has even promised me the Honour of a personal Acquaintance with her. I dispatched your Ladiship's inclosed letter to her, the moment, I received it.

I am, Madam, with the greatest Respect,

Your Ladiship's most faithful and obliged

Humble Servant

S. Richardson

London, May 17, 1754.

### The Sources of Hawthorne's "The Ambitious Guest"

PROFESSOR NELSON F. ADKINS, in his article "The Early Projected Work of Nathaniel Hawthorne," states that although contemporary written accounts of the landslide in the White Mountains upon which Hawthorne based "The Ambitious Guest" must have been common, none has come to his attention.<sup>1</sup> Yet a comparison of such an account with the short story is essential for a proper understanding and appreciation of the latter. That Hawthorne knew of the event is certain. He must have heard of the landslide during his trips to the White Mountains;<sup>2</sup> he may even have learned of it earlier from the Salem newspapers.<sup>3</sup> Above all, he was probably acquainted with the facts as they were presented, with substantial accuracy, in Samuel Griswold Goodrich's *A System of Universal Geography* (1832). This is how the account in that volume reads:

The Notch of the White Mountains will long be remembered for the tragical fate of a whole family, who were swept away by a *slide*, or avalanche of earth from the side of the mountain, on the night of the 28th of August, 1826. This family by the name

1. *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America*, XXIX (1945), 141-42.

2. Elizabeth Chandler, "A Study of the Sources of the Tales and Romances Written by Hawthorne before 1853," *Smith College Studies in Modern Languages*, VII, No. 4 (July 1926), 4, 16.

3. See *Essex Register*, September 7, 1826, and *Salem Literary Observer*, September 9, 1826.

of Willey, occupied what was called the Notch House, in a very narrow interval between the bases of the two mountains. No knowledge of any incident from the mountains in former times existed to create any apprehension of danger in their situation. Their dwelling stood alone, many miles from the residence of any human being, and there was an aspect of rural neatness, simplicity and content in their manner of life, that strongly interested the traveller whom chance and curiosity led into their neighborhood. For two seasons previous, the mountains had been very dry, and on the 28th of June there was a slide not far from the house, which so far alarmed them, that they erected a temporary encampment a short distance from their dwelling, as a place of refuge.

On the morning of August 28th it began raining very hard with a strong and tempestuous wind. The storm continued through the day and night, but it appears the family retired to rest without the least apprehension of any disaster. Among them were five beautiful children, from two to twelve years of age. At midnight the clouds which had gathered about the mountain, seemed to burst instantaneously, and pour their contents down in one tremendous flood of rain . . . The avalanche began upon the mountain top above the house, and moved down the mountain in a direct line toward it, in a sweeping torrent which seemed like a river pouring from the clouds, full of trees, earth and rocks.

On reaching the house it divided in a singular manner within six feet of it, and passed on either side, sweeping away the stable and horses, and completely surrounding the dwelling . . . The family, it appears, sprang from their beds, and fled naked into the open air, where they were instantly carried away by the torrent and overwhelmed . . .

In the morning, a most frightful scene of desolation was exhibited . . .

The barn was crushed . . . but the house was uninjured. The beds appeared to have been just quitted . . . The bodies of seven of the family were dug out of the drift wood and mountain ruins, on the banks of the Saco.<sup>4</sup>

In accordance with the report, Hawthorne indicates the solitude of the family in his story and describes their simple contentment; and it was probably the mention of a traveller that suggested to

4. Cincinnati 1832, 27. The story also appeared, in substantially the same form, in other "Peter Parley" books edited by Goodrich — *The Child's Book of American Geography*, Boston 1831, 15; *The First Book of History for Children and Youth*, Cincinnati 1831, 14; and *Peter Parley's Book of Curiosities*, New York 1831, 141-42.

him the guest. The "temporary encampment" of the account becomes the "barrier" which had been reared for an emergency. He speaks of the wind that "came through the Notch," of the slide which "broke into two branches," and finally of the valley of the Saco.

However, Hawthorne made many changes in the account to suit the artistic mold of his story — the folly of excessive ambition and desire for earthly immortality. For example, he does not have the family sleeping when the slide occurs, for he needs them awake to greet the guest and to serve as an audience. In his version the bodies of the victims are not discovered, because he wishes the guest to remain unknown, his ambitions for fame and immortality a grim irony lost in the debris.

But it is in the account of the people killed that the most interesting changes occur. Hawthorne introduces a daughter of seventeen, "the image of young Happiness," to whom the guest is immediately attracted, and also an aged grandmother, "the image of Happiness grown old." With these additions the family represents every important age of man; becoming a symbol of mankind itself.

The ambitious guest, of course, is entirely Hawthorne's own creation. Around him the author weaves the theme of his story. The structure is a series of modest wishes on the part of humble people, which contrast with the lofty aspirations of the guest. He tells his hosts, ". . . I cannot die till I have achieved my destiny. Then, let Death come! I shall have built my monument!" The young girl desires nothing more than the comfort of home life. The father wants a farm somewhere among the White Mountains that would afford security from slides. "I should want," he says, "to stand well with my neighbors and be called Squire, and sent to General Court for a term or two . . ." When he dies, he hopes for a simple slate gravestone with something on it to let people know that he lived "an honest man and died a Christian." One of the children, who are "outvying each other in wild wishes, and childish projects of what they would do when they came to be men and women," clamors that all of them should go to take a drink out of the basin of the Flume. Only the grandmother has a weird desire. Troubled by the old superstition that if anything in the attire of a corpse were amiss it would attempt to mend the error, she requests one of the children to hold a looking-glass over her face when she lies in her coffin, so that she can see if everything is arranged correctly.



The guest seizes upon each wish as a point of departure to express his own desire for an immortal monument on earth. The final irony is the manner of their death: if they had remained inside, they would have been spared, for the slide divided immediately above the house and left it untouched. The stranger now has his nameless sepulchre. The grandmother's vanity remains unsatisfied; the father will have neither his farm nor his simple gravestone; the young girl will have no husband or comfortable fireside; the child will never again drink from the Flume. Using all the other ambitions merely to emphasize the zealous aspiration of the stranger, Hawthorne is ready to sum up his moral:

Woe for the high-souled youth, with his dream of Earthly Immortality! His name and person utterly unknown; his history, his way of life, his plans, a mystery never to be solved, his death and his existence equally a doubt! Whose was the agony of that death moment?

Much could be said about the artistic techniques Hawthorne uses: line movement,<sup>5</sup> contrast, prefiguration, and so forth. All these devices add skillful strokes of art. The mere reporting of a freak accident has been raised by Hawthorne to an artistic expression of an enduring truth.

B. BERNARD COHEN

### A Margaret Fuller Satire on Longfellow

ON August 23, 1845, there appeared in the *Broadway Journal*, of which Edgar Allan Poe was editor, an amusing satire on the sentiments concerning woman's place in society expressed by Victorian, the hero of Longfellow's *The Spanish Student*. The author of this piece, entitled "The Whole Duty of Woman," was in all probability Margaret Fuller, then in New York City writing for Horace Greeley's *Tribune*. The satire affords a glimpse of Miss Fuller in a less serious mood than was usual with her.

Several facts point to Miss Fuller's authorship of "The Whole Duty of Woman." In February, 1845, had appeared her plea for greater freedom for women, *Woman in the Nineteenth Century*. Her lack of admiration for the writings of Longfellow she was to make

5. See Leland Schubert, *Hawthorne the Artist*, Chapel Hill 1944, 47-9.



evident in the same year in her review of his *Poems*.<sup>1</sup> The satire in the *Broadway Journal* is signed with an asterisk, the signature she frequently used to mark her contributions to the *Tribune*.<sup>2</sup> Poe twice named Miss Fuller as a contributor to the *Journal*,<sup>3</sup> though nothing in the paper appeared under her name. The handwriting of the following letter, which accompanied the satire to the *Journal* office, is said to resemble that of Miss Fuller.<sup>4</sup>

To the Editors of The Broadway Journal.

I was much obliged to you for your ready acceptance of my article entitled "A Peep behind the Curtain" and I was very much gratified that you were not alone in your estimate of it, as it was copied very extensively into the public papers. I hope I shall always be equally fortunate.

The object of the present communication speaks for itself. It is to ridicule a style of writing very common in your sex, when discoursing of ours, but which deserves no better epithet than *ineffable silliness*. I am aware Longfellow is a popular poet & deservedly so, but I am sure he will not be offended at such a mere piece of pleasantry, coming as it does from one of the party to whom such soft nonsense is addressed. I also wished to make some slight acknowledgment to the writer in the Whig review for the very flattering view he takes of the weaker sex.

X.

"A Peep behind the Curtain," a satirical portrait of a man selfishly in love, had appeared in the *Journal* for May 24, 1845, and was signed S\*\*\*\*, probably a disguise for "Sarah," Miss Fuller's first name.

The speech of Victorian which Miss Fuller satirizes (and, incidentally, misquotes) is found in *The Spanish Student*, Act I, Scene iii. Preciosa fears that, since Victorian is a scholar, the distance between them is too great. Victorian replies that he wishes woman's affection, not her intellect; that the "world of the affections," and

1. *Tribune*, December 10, 1845.

2. See her letter to Eugene Fuller (February, 1845?), in Mason Wade, *The Writings of Margaret Fuller*, (New York, 1941), p. 575: "If you see the Weekly Tribune you will find all my pieces marked with a star."

3. *Broadway Journal*, II, 184 (September 27, 1845), and II, 200 (October 4, 1845).

4. "The Correspondence of R. W. Griswold," *Boston Public Library Quarterly*, III, 154 (April, 1951). The letter is in the Griswold Collection of the Library. It has been published in part in Mary E. Phillips, *Edgar Allan Poe — The Man* (Chicago, 1926), II, 1166-1167. Miss Phillips identifies the writer as Miss Fuller but offers no evidence.

not that of man's ambition, is woman's world; and that, sitting "by the fireside of the heart," woman feeds its flame; and so on.<sup>5</sup>

The article in the "Whig review" to which Miss Fuller refers in her letter and in a prefatory note to her satire is "American Letters — Their Character and Advancement" by "Il Secretario" (Edward W. Johnston), published in the June, 1845, issue of the *American Review*.<sup>6</sup> The writer's opinion of woman's social function is similar to that expressed by Victorian:

Nature — happily careful of her fairest work — has fenced her within the crystal sphere of domestic life, from the stir, the thrill, the athletic contest of the outer world. Bright creature as she is, of the affections only, the gracious inhabitant of a fairy land of the heart . . . what has she to do with heroism? Is it not enough that she prompts it in men? She has beauty: must she have strength, too?

His view of education for woman must have irked Miss Fuller. He foresaw a period when woman would become

. . . a sort of feminine man . . . a little hard-featured, of rectangular limbs, bearing before her the worse than Gorgonian terrors of a diploma of some she-university, and enriching her natural gifts of ugliness with disputatious tongue, the attire of a slattern, and the propensities of a pedant.

When Poe printed the satire in the *Broadway Journal* (August 23, 1845; II, 101), he added a footnote:

We give place to this *jeu d'esprit*, merely through our sincere respect, as well for the honesty of intention, as for the ability, of its author. We feel it our duty, nevertheless, to protest against the doctrine advanced. The opinions of our fair correspondent are by no means our own. — ED. B. J.

"The Whole Duty of Woman" consists of a brief preface and an unrhymed "poem" of slightly more than a hundred lines. In both Miss Fuller's ostensible speaker is a man who agrees with the opinions set forth by Longfellow and Johnston but who, inadvertently, causes those views to appear absurd. In the prefatory note he states that "the accompanying effusion was written to make the *true meaning* of the poet more apparent" to the "limited capacity" of women readers. He admits that women are "undoubtedly a

5. *Graham's Magazine*, XXI, 111 (September, 1842).

6. I am indebted to Professor Jay B. Hubbell for the information that Johnston used the pseudonym "Il Secretario."

legitimate part of the human family, and until something can be invented that will supply their place, are to be tolerated, and even well treated . . ." Of the meter of the poem he observes that, if it is not as correct as it should be, "we presume it is at least as good as that of some of our philosopher-poets — and indeed very much in their manner." In the poetical portion he quotes Victorian's speech bit by bit, offering specific application of its views. A few excerpts will illustrate the author's method and tone:

'The world of affection is *thy* home,  
Not that of man's ambition.' True, most true!  
You cannot go to Congress, nor can serve  
In the militia, nor be heard  
Within the halls of justice. 'Tis your part  
To mend his hose — delightful task!  
And patch his ancient vestments. 'In that *stillness*  
Calm and holy, which most *becomes a woman*,  
Thou sittest by the fireside of the heart  
Feeding its flame.' Canst take a hint?  
Well, I'll explain to you — it simply means  
Pray keep the fire a-going, but don't intrude  
Your vapid observations!

. . . . .  
The feeling most becoming in a woman  
Is 'just as my husband wishes' —  
And as affection is the thing we crave,  
Be liberal in the outward demonstration.  
Think not of self, nor call your soul your own;  
But when the loved one steps within his bower  
Be sure to meet him with a raptured smile,  
E'en if he's cross and snappish.  
If 'tis winter's cold, prostrate yourself  
And take his rubbers — or in summer's heat  
Fan his moist countenance. 'Tis these tender acts  
That make life blissful, and he expects them.

. . . . .  
'The element of fire is pure, it cannot change its nature  
But burns as brightly within the gypsy camp  
As in the palace hall.' Be sure it does;  
And Jock the ploughman feels  
As genuine a flame toward Sal the housemaid,  
As that which glows within the poet's heart,  
Or, in briefer phrase, one kind of love  
Is just as good as t'other.

JAMES B. REECE

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